

(*turtānu*) and a royal official (*ša rēši ša [šarri]*).²⁴¹ The fragmentary letter CT 54 545 may refer to a Bēl-ibni with the normal Babylonian title for governor, *šākin tēmi* ('LÚ1.GAR.K[U?]); thus he may have been sent to take over the governorship of the Sealand and to lead the loyal forces in that region.²⁴²

Bēl-ibni recognized that, because of the marshes, fighting in the Sealand required special tactics and equipment. Thus he requested that the king send him lumber and twenty Sidonians to build ten boats.²⁴³ With the boats, he would be able to pursue the rebels into the depths of the marshes and, if necessary, into Elam itself. It was probably at about the time of this appointment in Ayyaru (II) of 650 that Bēl-ibni and Nūrea, the Assyrian governor of Zamū, went to the aid of Ur and subjugated a large part of the Gurasimmu.²⁴⁴ He also claims to have defeated the Puqūdu and the Sealand three of four times.²⁴⁵ In the course of taking up his position in the Sealand Bēl-ibni may have received oaths of allegiance from some people of the Sealand, beginning in Kissik, as recorded in ABL 521; however, it may be that this was done later, when the revolt in the Sealand had been essentially crushed and Nabû-bēl-šumāti had fled to Elam.²⁴⁶ At one point during Bēl-ibni's pacification of the Sealand, Tammaritu of Elam, having been defeated and deposed by the usurper Indabibi, fled to Ashurbanipal via the Sealand. He, his family, and his retinue came into the hands of Bēl-ibni, who sent them on to Assyria, where they were given asylum.²⁴⁷ Not all of Bēl-ibni's actions met with Ashurbanipal's approval. On one occasion the king wanted

²⁴¹ ABL 795:4-6 (allusion not entirely certain) and 267 rev. 11-12. On the *ša rēši* official, see p. 234 n. 126.

²⁴² CT 54 545:6'. Because of the lack of context, it is possible that the title does not in fact refer to Bēl-ibni or that a different Bēl-ibni is meant. The reference to Nabû-bēl-šumāti (line 10') supports the identification of this Bēl-ibni with the official of that name who was sent by Ashurbanipal to the Sealand. The usual title for governors of the Sealand was, however, *šaknu* (see Appendix B sub 12).

²⁴³ ABL 795 rev. 7'-12'.

²⁴⁴ ABL 790+CT 54 425:4-10. Note ABL 1129 rev. 13'-16'; the passage can be understood in several ways, including "not even Bēl-ibni and a thousand bowmen (stationed) in Ur could restrain Nabû-bēl-šumāti" (see Brinkman, *Or.* NS 34 [1965]: 255) and "Nabû-bēl-šumāti must not be allowed to restrain Bēl-ibni and the one thousand bowmen (with him) at Ur" (see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 188-89 no. 127).

²⁴⁵ ABL 790+CT 54 425:10-12 (partially restored); see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 188-89 no. 128.

²⁴⁶ Parpola and Watanabe (SAA 2, p. XXXII) suggest that the oath of loyalty SAA 2, no. 9 (ABL 1105) may have been imposed upon Sealander who had initially taken part in the rebellion but later changed sides and that ABL 521 refers to the imposition of this oath of loyalty. It is uncertain, however, that the Sealander was the one taking the oath represented by SAA 2, no. 9 (see above, p. 141).

²⁴⁷ E.g., Weidner, *Afo* 8 (1932-33): 198-99 nos. 68-70; ABL 284; and cf. ABL 282:6-16. For the date of this incident, see below.

to know how one as devoted to the king as Bēl-ibni had done what he had done.²⁴⁸

The struggle between the two parties for control of the Sealand caused a shortage of food there; the fighting undoubtedly hindered the cultivation and collection of food supplies. Hunger forced a number of prominent rebel supporters of Nabû-bēl-šumāti to surrender to Bēl-ibni.²⁴⁹ When Nabû-bēl-šumāti became unable to maintain himself in the Sealand as a result of Bēl-ibni's actions, he fled to Elam. ABL 282 suggests that he was there in Targibātu when Indabibi's revolt occurred (by 649 at the latest).²⁵⁰ Nabû-bēl-šumāti took some captives with him to Elam, including a number of Assyrians (whose detention in Elam became a bone of contention between Ashurbanipal and Indabibi),²⁵¹ people from Kissik,²⁵² and a brother of Bēl-ibni.²⁵³ Those from Kissik managed to escape, only to be arrested by Bēl-ibni when they entered the Sealand, presumably because Bēl-ibni regarded with suspicion any persons coming from Elam.²⁵⁴ Four years after his brother had been captured, Bēl-ibni managed to free him by sending a force of troops to his aid.²⁵⁵

Bēl-ibni had his own contacts with Elam, undoubtedly trying both to discover Nabû-bēl-šumāti's movements and plans and to persuade Elam to give the rebel up to Assyria.²⁵⁶ From the Elamite border region, Nabû-bēl-šumāti continued to harass Bēl-ibni. One such action is reported in ABL 1000. Nabû-bēl-šumāti hired²⁵⁷ members of various tribes (Hilmu, Pillatu,

²⁴⁸ ABL 291.

²⁴⁹ ABL 963 rev. 3'-10'; see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 192-93 no. 137.

²⁵⁰ See above, p. 168.

²⁵¹ E.g., Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 142-43 viii 47-61 and see below, pp. 185-86.

²⁵² ABL 736:7-9.

²⁵³ ABL 460 rev. 3-8. Although the name of the author of the letter is not preserved, the contents and language suggest that it was Bēl-ibni. For example, only letters of Bēl-ibni and Ashurbanipal refer to Ummanšibar and the epithets used to describe Nabû-bēl-šumāti are used elsewhere only by Bēl-ibni.

²⁵⁴ ABL 736:7-13.

²⁵⁵ ABL 460 rev. 8-12. The reference to the author having been held captive for four years (rev. 3-8) points to his rescue having taken place in 649 at the earliest (if we assume he had not been taken captive before the Šamaš-šuma-ukin Revolt began in 652). It could, however, have taken place after the end of the rebellion since Nabû-bēl-šumāti remained alive and possibly active until some time after Ashurbanipal's second campaign against Humban-ḫaltāš III.

²⁵⁶ ABL 1170, a letter from Ashurbanipal to the Elamite Ummanšī[bar] dated on 25-IV-648, appears to refer to a message from Ummanšībar to Bēl-ibni (lines 8-9). An Ummanšībar also appears in ABL 281:11-12 (via his herald), 460:3, 792:5, and possibly CT 54 282:11' (partially restored).

²⁵⁷ The meaning of *ū-tag-gi-ra* (ABL 1000:16') is not absolutely certain. Neither CAD nor AHw includes it in its *agāru* article; according to these two dictionaries, a D-stem of *agāru* is attested only in the Old Assyrian period. Since no verbal root tgr is cited in AHw, since none of the *nagāru/nugguru* verbs appear to make sense in this passage, and since a

Nuguḫu, Yaši'-il, and Lakabru) who were suffering from famine. They, together with his own troops, including 250 Gurasimmu and persons from Ur and Kissik, made a raid into the Sealand by boat and plundered the tribes there. In retaliation, Bēl-ibni sent out four hundred archers, who crossed the Gulf by boat and entered Elam. They defeated the Țilmu and Pillatu, and took many captives.²⁵⁸ Nabū-bēl-šumāti remained in refuge in Elam for at least two years after the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, sheltered by Țumban-ḫaltaš III or other Elamite nobles.²⁵⁹

VII. Elam

Elam and its kings proved to be the most important non-Babylonian supporters of the rebellion. This is to be expected in view of long-standing Elamite enmity toward Assyria and in view of the fact that Elam was Babylonia's only other important neighbouring state. Despite the fact that there were several kings of Elam in rapid succession during the course of the rebellion, each having taken the throne from his predecessor by force of arms, they were unanimous in their support of the rebellion in Babylonia, although one (Indabibi) considered making peace with Assyria at one point. While Elam continued to support anti-Assyrian movements in Babylonia, it also continued to provide that support for a fee.²⁶⁰ Ashurbanipal states that both Țumban-nikaš and Tammaritu received a present (*ta'tu*) from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn for their support,²⁶¹ and it is known that Nabū-bēl-šumāti acquired the help of tribes on the Elamite border in return for food and slaves.²⁶² Unfortunately for Elam, the revolt failed and Elam had to pay a heavy price for its support of the rebels—two campaigns by Ashurbanipal.

Although Ashurbanipal had given Țumban-nikaš II asylum from Teumman and installed him as king of Elam, Țumban-nikaš disregarded his agreement with the Assyrian king and accepted a gift from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's messengers. He then sent military forces made up of Elamites and

meaning "hire" would fit the context, a D-stem of *agāru* is tentatively accepted here. For a second possible example of a D-stem form of *agāru* in the Neo-Assyrian period, in *ABL* 201:10, see Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 263.

²⁵⁸ The date of *ABL* 1000 is uncertain; the letter could conceivably come from after the fall of Babylon.

²⁵⁹ See chapter 9.

²⁶⁰ See Brinkman, *JCS* 25 (1973): 91-93 and *JNES* 24 (1965): 161-66.

²⁶¹ Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 76-79 vii 3-8 and 43-47, and Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 32-33 iii 136-137. Veenhof (*Aspects*, pp. 219-302) has discussed the meaning of the term *dātu* (*ta'tu/tātu*), primarily in the Old Assyrian period. In historical texts of the later period, he has demonstrated that this word indicates "an amount of money paid or a gift donated in order to buy off a superior enemy, to maintain good relations with a powerful neighbour, or to win the support of a possible ally" (*ibid.*, p. 223).

²⁶² *ABL* 1000:11'-16'.

border tribes to the aid of the Babylonian king against the Assyrian troops "who were going about the land of Karduniaš (and) subduing the land of Chaldea." These reinforcements were led by Undasu (a son of the former king Teumman), Attametu (the chief archer), Nēšu (the leader of Elam's armies), and two Arameans (Zazaz, the chieftain of Pillatu, and Parū, the chieftain of Țilmu). The Elamites and their allies were defeated by the Assyrians, who advanced from their base at Mangisi, apparently located on the Tigris near the confluence of the Diyala River. The heads of all of the enemy leaders were cut off and sent to Ashurbanipal.²⁶³ Ashurbanipal wrote to Țumban-nikaš about the latter's treacherous action but the Elamite king refused to reply and restrained the Assyrian king's messenger.

The position of Țumban-nikaš became precarious after the defeat of his forces. Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals implies that it was fairly soon after this battle that Tammaritu—possibly a second individual by this name, and not the brother of Țumban-nikaš II whom Ashurbanipal had put on the throne of Țidalu—succeeded Țumban-nikaš as king of Elam.²⁶⁴ Tammaritu revolted against Țumban-nikaš and killed both him and his family. It is not known if those supporting the deposition of Țumban-nikaš were doing so simply because they preferred Tammaritu to Țumban-nikaš, because they

²⁶³ Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 76-79 vii 3-39; Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 42-43 iii 6-9; Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 32-33 iii 136-138. Although Ashurbanipal's inscriptions state that Nēšu went to the aid of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, his name is not among those mentioned as having been defeated by the Assyrian forces. K 4500, a fragmentary Assyrian inscription draft, refers to Undasu (obv. 4' and 15'), Attametu (5'), and Zazaz (15', partially restored), as well as Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (6' and 12', partially restored). See also Appendix D on this battle. Although all the kings of Elam during the time of the revolt are said to have supported the rebels, this is the only occasion on which Elamite troops are clearly known to have taken part in a battle on Babylonian soil.

²⁶⁴ Some scholars (e.g., Hinz, *Elam*, p. 185, and Cameron, *HEI*, pp. 192 and 231) have argued that this Tammaritu was not the brother of Țumban-nikaš II. This belief is based primarily upon the reference to a statue of "Tammaritu, the second (*arkū*), who did obeissance to me [Ashurbanipal] at the command of the gods Aššur and Ištar," which editions A and F state had been carried off to Assyria from Elam after Ashurbanipal's second campaign against Țumban-ḫaltaš III (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 54-55 vi 55-57; Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 54-55 v 38-39). A fragmentary text, K 3062, bears a similar statement: "[Statue of Tammaritu], the second, [who] fled [from] Elam [at the command] of the gods Aššur [and] Ištar, [grasped] [my feet], (and) did obeissance to me" (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 214-15:1-4). The Tammaritu who revolted against Țumban-nikaš later fled to Assyria and submitted to Ashurbanipal "to glorify" the gods Aššur and Ištar (see p. 179 n. 237). Further support for the belief in a second Tammaritu at this time comes from references to the successor of Țumban-nikaš on the throne of Elam as "Tammaritu, the son/heir of Țumban-nikaš, the brother of his father" and as "[Tammaritu], who is not the brother of Țumban-nikaš" (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 180-83:34-35 and Bauer, *Asb.*, pp. 51-52 obv. 14-rev. 1), although the latter passage is damaged and could also be translated as "[Tammaritu], the unbrotherly brother of Țumban-nikaš" (compare *ABL* 301:4). This Tammaritu is sometimes referred to as Tammaritu II. On this matter, see in particular the references cited in Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, p. 96 n. 404.

wished to appease Assyria, or because they wanted to put a stronger leader on the throne, one who would carry on the fight against Ashurbanipal. A letter from about this time sent by Ashurbanipal to an Elamite by the name of Menanu would suggest that at least some Elamites supported Ashurbanipal, or at least were unwilling to anger him. Ashurbanipal states that Menanu had sent the following message to him: "I have killed Simbur, to whom you showed favour ... but who sinned against (his) sworn agreement with you. ... We will fight with Ĥumban-nikaš, to whom you showed great favour but who sinned against (his) sworn agreement with you, sided with your enemy, and crossed your border."²⁶⁵ Whether or not Tammaritu had been aided by those who wished to appease Ashurbanipal, once on the throne of Elam he too accepted a present from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and made an alliance with him. Tammaritu is said to have sent military aid to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, rushing his armed forces into battle (*ana mīthūši ummānāteya urriḥa kakkēšu*), although no actual battle is ever mentioned.²⁶⁶ On 5-II-650, Ashurbanipal described Nabû-bēl-šumāti as "the prostitute of Menanu."²⁶⁷ If this refers to the same Menanu as the earlier letter, he must have supported Tammaritu in the deposition of Ĥumban-nikaš and then gone on to help Tammaritu against Assyria, presumably by giving aid to Nabû-bēl-šumāti.

As mentioned earlier, Ashurbanipal had an extispicy performed in 651 to determine if the Elamite army would be mobilized and fight with Assyrian forces between the eighth day of Abu (V) and the eighth day of Ulûlu (VI). The omens were unfavourable (i.e., the Elamite forces would not be mobilized).²⁶⁸ Since we do not know the exact date Tammaritu replaced Ĥumban-nikaš on the throne of Elam, it is not possible to tell which of the two would have been king of Elam at the time. Possibly Ashurbanipal had requested this information immediately after the deposition of Ĥumban-nikaš in an attempt to discover if the new king would also support the rebellion.

At some point in or before 649, a rebellion took place against Tammaritu and he was defeated in open battle. Indabibi, who had instigated the rebellion, seized the throne. Tammaritu, his family, relatives, and eighty-five Elamite nobles who supported him fled to Ashurbanipal for refuge. In their flight they passed through the Sealand and Bēl-ibni sent them on to Ashurbanipal.

²⁶⁵ ABL 1380:5-13; in line 10 read 'a-na' not KÛ.BABBAR (collated). The tablet is broken and large parts of it are difficult to interpret. Simbur is probably to be identified with the Elamite herald by that name who is mentioned in an Assyrian epigraph as having submitted to Ashurbanipal (Weidner, *AfO* 8 [1932-33]: 178-79 no. 2).

²⁶⁶ Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 42-43 iii 10-16; Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 78-79 vii 40-51; Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 32-35 iv 1-8; Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-33): 191-203 (various epigraphs). Edition B implies that Ĥumban-nikaš was deposed by the gods because of his action in sending aid to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.

²⁶⁷ ABL 289:7-8.

²⁶⁸ Starr, *SAA* 4, no. 281.

They came before the Assyrian king, crawling naked on their bellies and bringing with them Nabû-bēl-šumāti's prisoner Marduk-šarra-ušur. They undoubtedly hoped to placate Ashurbanipal's anger with them by returning Marduk-šarra-ušur and to win support in recovering the throne of Elam. Ashurbanipal forgave Tammaritu's treachery and insolent words which the Elamite had earlier said about Assyria and gave him a place in his palace.²⁶⁹ The fact that Tammaritu fled to Ashurbanipal and not to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would indicate that he felt that either the Babylonian revolt was doomed to failure or that Indabibi would certainly ally with the rebels in Babylonia, making hope of refuge with them unlikely. The exact date of Indabibi's revolt is not known though he is attested on the throne of Elam at some point in 649, when Ashurbanipal wrote to him (ABL 1151). Tammaritu, his predecessor, is known to have been on the throne of Elam at some point after the ninth month of 651 since an extispicy report raises the possibility that he might attack Nippur and he is likely to have done so only after that city fell to the Assyrians.²⁷⁰ Since Bēl-ibni was in the Sealand to receive Tammaritu when he fled from Indabibi, the revolt of Indabibi is likely to have taken place only after Bēl-ibni was put in charge of that area.

Indabibi considered establishing peace with Assyria by returning the Assyrians whom Nabû-bēl-šumāti had taken captive to Elam. According to edition of B of Ashurbanipal's annals, Indabibi released the captives from prison, sent a messenger to Ashurbanipal to establish friendly relations with Assyria, and promised "not to trespass (beyond) the boundary of his land" (i.e., not to send troops to aid the rebels).²⁷¹ It was probably at this time in 649 that Ashurbanipal sent ABL 1151 to Indabibi, calling him "brother" and wishing him well. Only the introductory section and the date are preserved and we are thus deprived of the real contents of the letter. Possibly because Indabibi became angry at the Assyrian king for giving refuge to Tammaritu, this friendly state of affairs ended and the Elamite king refused to return the Assyrian captives. There is no evidence that Indabibi sent military aid to the Babylonian rebels, although he did give refuge to Nabû-bēl-šumāti. Ashurbanipal sent an angry message to Indabibi complaining that he had not returned Nabû-bēl-šumāti and the captive Assyrians and threatening that he would ravage Elam and put someone else on the throne of that land. This message never reached Indabibi. Hearing of the approach of Ashurbanipal's

²⁶⁹ Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 42-45 iii 17-32; Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 78-81 vii 52-76; Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 34-37 iv 9-41; Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-33): 191-203 (various epigraphs); ABL 284; and possibly CT 54 487 (see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, p. 121 and 194-95 no. 140). See also p. 179 n. 237.

²⁷⁰ Starr, *SAA* 4, no. 289.

²⁷¹ Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 80-81 vii 77-92.

messenger, Humban-ḫaltaš III revolted, killed Indabibi, and took the throne of Elam.²⁷²

Exactly when Indabibi was deposed is unknown; it is not even clear if this took place before or after the fall of Babylon. Only C of Ashurbanipal's annals clearly describes both the rebellion of Humban-ḫaltaš against Indabibi and the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt and it mentions the deposition of Indabibi after describing the fall of Babylon.²⁷³ Edition A which also describes the fall of Babylon and knew of the accession of Humban-ḫaltaš to the throne of Elam does not mention that individual's actual seizure of the throne from Indabibi. Since Assyrian annals often did not follow strict chronological order (at times geographical location and other considerations played a part), it must remain uncertain whether Indabibi was deposed before or after Babylon fell to the Assyrians. There is no clear evidence to indicate that Humban-ḫaltaš III was on the throne of Elam while the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt was in progress.²⁷⁴ Is it possible that the fall of Babylon played a part in the deposition of Indabibi? With the rebellion in Babylonia finally put down, Ashurbanipal could now turn his attention to Elam and some Elamites may have hoped to appease him by deposing a ruler who had aided the rebellion and by replacing him with an individual who might be more acceptable to Assyria.

Conclusion

The rebellion of 652-648 was the first widespread uprising in Babylonia against Assyrian domination since the revolt of 694-689. It too won support from non-Babylonians who were interested in seeing Assyria's power diminished. Though it was led by a brother of the Assyrian king, the revolt

²⁷² Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 142-45 viii 47-74. It is possible that this text is in error in implying that the rebellion against Indabibi was brought about because of Indabibi's refusal to release these Assyrians since it is not clear that his rebellion took place during the time of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt in Babylonia.

²⁷³ For edition C, see Bauer, *Asb.*, pp. 17-18 and pl. 12 (heavily restored); the description of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt ends on ix 53 and that of the revolt of Humban-ḫaltaš III against Indabibi begins on ix 89 (cf. Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 144-45 viii 68-74). A brief reference to Indabibi's accession appears in edition K after the description of the fall of Babylon; see Cogan and Tadmor, *Or.* NS 50 (1981): 232-33 BM 134436 a 38'-39' (restored from ND 814 b 16'-17'). Cogan and Tadmor state that the defeat of Indabibi appears in more detail before the surrender of Babylon is mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 238), but the passage in question (Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 102-103 iv) is badly damaged and could instead describe the revolt of Indabibi against Tammartu.

²⁷⁴ ABL 462, which refers to Humban-ḫaltaš III as king of Elam (lines 16-17), may suggest that messengers of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn were in Elam at that time (rev. 6'-10'). (In view of the spelling *GIS.NU₁₁[...] in rev. 7' it is likely that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's name is to be read here.) But the messengers may have gone to Elam in the time of Indabibi and simply remained there for their own safety when Babylon fell.

was supported by Chaldeans, Arameans, Sealanders, and Akkadians—by both settled and nomadic groups. These groups, however, were not totally united in rebellion. In particular, a number of towns in southern Babylonia remained loyal to Assyria despite intense pressure exerted upon them by the rebels. While Babylon did not fall until the middle of 648 at the earliest (and by the end of that year at the latest), it seems likely that the rebellion had begun to wind down in the northern part of the country around the time Babylon was besieged in the middle of 650, and it is possible that the same holds true for the southern part of the land. This is supported, albeit passively, by the fact that neither the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Chronicle nor the Akītu Chronicle mentions any military incidents occurring after the siege of Babylon began; thus, the compilers of these chronicles may have considered that no actions worthy of mention had taken place.²⁷⁵ This revolt marked the last known attempt by Babylonians to regain their independence from Assyria before the final successful attempt led by Nabopolassar, which resulted in the formation of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The four-year-long Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt put a great strain on Assyria and its resources and undoubtedly marked the beginning of its decline, even though Assyrian troops went on to other victories in the Near East, including the defeat of Elam on two separate occasions.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ They may, however, have had no information on events taking place outside Babylon after the city was besieged, or none that was of interest to a possibly "Babylon-centric" point of view.

²⁷⁶ Ashurbanipal's military campaigns after the revolt were directed mainly against Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's non-Babylonian supporters (the nomadic tribes of the western desert region and the Elamites). These were major hard-fought campaigns in their own right, taking place outside Babylonia, and one should not consider them mere mopping up exercises.

TABLE 2

The Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt: A Chronological Outline

652	II through X	The <i>rab būti</i> ("steward") carried out some activity (<i>bihirti ibtehir</i>) in the land of Akkad. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 16:9-10)
	23-II	Ashurbanipal appealed to the people of Babylon not to join Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in rebellion and promised that he would not hold against them the fact that they had initially sided with his brother. (<i>ABL</i> 301)
	17-IV	An extispicy was performed to determine if Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would be captured if Assyrian forces entered Babylon. Report unfavourable. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 279)
	19-X	Hostilities began. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 16:11)
	8-XI	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn withdrew before the enemy into Babylon. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 15:6 and cf. no. 16:12)
	12-XII	A battle took place between the armies of Babylonia and Assyria. (Sachs, <i>Astronomical Diaries</i> 1, no. -651 iv 10')
	27-XII	A Babylonian army was defeated at Hiritu, in the province of Sippar. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 16:13-15 and Sachs, <i>Astronomical Diaries</i> 1, no. -651 iv 18'-19')
651	-	There were <i>[insu]rrections</i> in Assyria and Akkad. The New Year's festival was not celebrated. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 16:17-19)
	4-I	An extispicy was performed to determine if Nabû-bēl-šumāti had assembled archers in Elam and was coming to oppose the pro-Assyrian forces. Report unfavourable. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 280)
	[?]-V?	An extispicy was performed to determine if the Elamite army would assemble, march, and fight with the troops of Ashurbanipal between 8-V and 8-VI. Report unfavourable. (Starr,

		<i>SAA</i> 4, no. 281) ¹
9-VI ₂		Babylonian forces captured Cutha. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 15:7-10)
15-VII		An extispicy was performed to determine if the report that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was fleeing to Elam was true. Report unfavourable. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 282)
16-VIII		An extispicy was performed to determine if Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would be captured by Assyrian troops if they advanced against him. Report favourable. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 283)
between 3(+)-IX and 18-XI		Nippur was captured by, or went over to, the Assyrians. ²
11-XI		An extispicy was performed to determine if Šamaš-šuma-ukīn would go out from Babylon and flee. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 285)
13-[?]		An extispicy was performed to determine if an individual would join Ashurbanipal's enemies. Report unfavourable(?). (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 293)
[?]-[?]		An extispicy was performed to determine if Assyrian troops should go to Bāb-Sāme and do battle with the forces of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. Report favourable. (Starr, <i>SAA</i> 4, no. 287)
650	-	The New Year's festival was not celebrated. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 16:20-21)
5-II		In a letter to the people of the Sealand, Ashurbanipal stated that he had appointed Bēl-ibni over that area. (<i>ABL</i> 289)
11-IV		Babylon was besieged by the Assyrians. (Grayson, <i>Chronicles</i> , no. 15:19)
13-VIII		Composition of the first of several "siege documents" at Babylon referring to hardship and severe famine in the land. (Budge, <i>PSBA</i> 10 [1887-88]: 146 and pls. 4-6 [<i>B-K</i> K.119])

¹ For the date of the extispicy (possibly in the twelfth month), see p. 145 n. 56.

² On 3(+)-IX-651 a text was dated at Nippur by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (IM 57923; *B-K* K.116), but on 18-XI-651 a transaction was dated by Ashurbanipal's regnal years (IM 57901 and duplicate IM 57902; *B-K* J.8-9).

- 649 - The New Year's festival was not celebrated.
(Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:22)
- Ashurbanipal wrote a friendly letter to Indabibi,
the king of Elam. (ABL 1151)
- 648 - The New Year's festival was not celebrated.
(Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:23)
- 28-V Last economic document from Borsippa dated
by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.
(BM 134973 [B-K K.142])
- 30-V Last economic document from Babylon dated
by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.
(BM 40577 [B-K K.143])

CHAPTER 9

ASHURBANIPAL, KING OF ASSYRIA, AND KANDALĀNU, KING OF BABYLONIA (647-627)

Babylonian desire for independence was obviously deeply rooted for the people to have attempted to challenge the might of Assyria and to have withstood warfare, siege, and starvation for several years. They were now exhausted, cowed into submission by Assyrian actions; and the information we have suggests that they were kept more closely under Assyrian control. The Babylonian people were ready for a period of peace so that they could repair the damage caused by the war and recover their strength. There is no record of any anti-Assyrian action in Babylonia from the fall of Babylon in 648 to the death of Kandalānu in 627,¹ but then there are few texts which deal with political and military matters in Babylonia, or Assyria, during these years. Much of what information there is involves Elam and the Arabs in the three to five years immediately following the revolt. Although little is known about the political situation, it would be incorrect to describe this time as a period of decline in Babylonia since numerous legal and administrative texts attest to considerable activity in the economic sphere.

Although edition A of Ashurbanipal's annals records that having put down the rebellion the Assyrian king appointed new governors and officials (LÚ.GAR.KUR.MEŠ LÚ.TIL.GID.DA.MEŠ) over the people of Babylonia, no mention is made of their new king. However, at some point after the revolt, Ashurbanipal installed Kandalānu as ruler of Babylonia.² Kandalānu³

¹ There may have been some unrest in the last few years of this period but this has not been established clearly as yet (see below).

² Kandalānu is cited as the successor of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in Babylonian Kinglist A iv 22', the Synchronistic Kinglist iv 15, and the Ptolemaic Canon (see Grayson in *RLA* 6, pp. 93, 120, and 101 respectively) and may have followed him the synchronistic kinglist fragment KAV 182 iv 6 (name restored, as is that of his predecessor; see *ibid.*, p. 125). He is cited in Uruk Kinglist line 3' (name of his predecessor uncertain; see *ibid.*, p. 97) and in a Babylonian chronicle (first ruler mentioned after Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:24).

³ In kinglists and chronicles the name is spelled as follows: *kan-dal* (Babylonian Kinglist A iv 22'), *k[an-da]-la'-an* (Uruk Kinglist 3'; while the traces of the first sign might suggest *k[a-* instead of *k[an-*, this is not certain and the spacing would suggest the writing proposed [following *UVB* 18, p. 53 and against van Dijk, *Rēs-Heiligum*, p. 27]), *kan-dāl-a-nu* (Synchronistic Kinglist iv 15 and 20), *kan-da-la-nu* (Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:24) and

is first mentioned as king in an economic document dated at Babylon on sixth day of Tebētu (X) in 647 (year 1 of Kandalānu).⁴ In date formulae he was usually called "king" or "king of Babylon."⁵ As with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, no date formula ever refers to his accession year and this could suggest that he ascended the throne at the New Year's festival in 647. The fact, however, that documents were dated by Ashurbanipal's regnal years in 647 at Uruk and Borsippa up until the twelfth day of Du'ūzu (IV) and the eighteenth day of Kislimu (IX) respectively could indicate that he was appointed only after that time.⁶ Kandalānu's reign was to last for twenty-one years and to end with his death in 627.⁷

Kandalānu appears to have been acknowledged king over as wide an area as Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, with the important exception of Nippur. While texts were dated by Kandalānu's regnal years at Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat, Hursagkalama, Sippar, and Uruk, all of the texts from Nippur during these twenty-one years were dated by Ashurbanipal, who was given the title "king

Κινηλαδόνου (Ptolemaic Canon). In the astronomical text *LBAT* 1417 iv 1 and in the nineteen-year cycle text *BM* 33809:6, the name is spelled *kan-dal-an*-(x) and '*kan-dal-an*' respectively; in the Neo-Assyrian letter *CT* 53 966:10 it appears as *kan-dal-a-nu* (if the passage is understood correctly; see below). In date formulae of the period, the royal name is spelled *kan-da-la-nu* about ninety per cent of the time. Other spellings are as follows: *kan-da-la-an-nu* (Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 [1970]: 278 no. 6:40 [B-K L.107]); *kan-dal-la-nu* (Ellis, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 51 no. 16:14 [B-K L.88]); *kan-da-la-nu-u* (Jakob-Rost, *FB* 10 [1968]: 51 no. 9:18 [B-K L.192]); *kan-da-la-a-nu* (Ellis, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 43 no. 7:17 and Jakob-Rost, *FB* 10 [1968]: 44 no. 3:9 [B-K L.17 and 95]); *kan-dal-a-nu* (*BM* 50298 rev. 7' [B-K L.126]); *kan-da-la-an* (*LIH* 1 70:24); *kan-dal-an* (*PTS* 2479:22' [B-K L.14]); *kan-da-lana* (Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, no. 103:19 [B-K L.123]); *kan-dal-na* (*BM* 41174 rev. 6' [B-K L.34]); *kan-da-la-ni* (Oppert, *RA* 1 [1886]: 4 line 15; Dalley, *Edinburgh*, no. 61:7; *PRS* 9:20; and *BM* 29531:17 [B-K L.16, 43, 50a, and 58]); and *kan-dal-a-ni* (Ellis, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 39 no. 4:30 and Jastrow in *Oriental Studies*, pl. facing p. 136 line 28 [B-K L.4 and 10]). The personal determinative appears in about twenty-five per cent of the cases. The name is preceded by the divine determinative on three occasions—*AnOr* 9 4 v 45; *B*.78:17; and Pinches, *Berens Coll.*, no. 103:19 [B-K L.23, L.109 and L.123 respectively].

⁴ *VAS* 5 3 (B-K L.1).

⁵ He bore the title LUGAL URU.DÜG in Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 5 no. 6:6 (B-K L.76) and note *OECT* 10 1 rev. 8' (ILUJGAL URU.DÜG.KI; royal name not preserved; B-K Ln.1). For the writing of URU.DÜG for Babylon, see Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 116 n. 653.

⁶ *BM* 29171; *W* 18874; *YBC* 7166; *OECT* 10 9; and Jakob-Rost, *FB* 10 (1968): 57-58 no. 13 (B-K J.18-22). Though note below that a transaction was dated according to Ashurbanipal's reign at Dilbat in the first month of 646.

⁷ Uruk Kinglist 3' (van Dijk, *Rēš-Heiligtum*, no. 88). Berossos states that the successor to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn as ruler of Babylonia reigned for twenty-one years (Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 269:29 and p. 270:7 and 35-36). The Ptolemaic Canon gives Kandalānu a reign of twenty-two years, but see below. The date formulae of economic texts show that Kandalānu died sometime between 8-III-627 (year 21 Kandalānu) and 1(+)-VIII-627 (year 21 "after Kandalānu"); see below.

of (all) lands," "king of Assyria," or "king of the world."⁸ Nippur had been taken by the Assyrians in 651 and used as a military base by them during the remainder of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt. Presumably Ashurbanipal continued to keep Nippur directly under his control because it had been the most consistently troublesome of all the Babylonian cities since the time of Sennacherib and because it could serve as a centrally located military base in the event of further rebellion in Babylonia. Assyrian forces may simply have remained in Nippur after Babylon fell in 648. Assyria maintained control of Nippur for some time after 627 in spite of the efforts of Nabopolassar, suggesting that the city was under military occupation at that time.⁹ It appears that not all the other cities in Babylonia were placed under Kandalānu's jurisdiction, or chose to recognize his position, at the same time. Although he was acknowledged as king at Babylon on the sixth day of Tebētu (X) in 647, a document was dated by Ashurbanipal at Dilbat on the twenty-ninth of Nisannu (I) in the following year.¹⁰ Possibly the administration of Dilbat was not handed back to civilian (Babylonian) control by the military (Assyrian) authorities until after that date. There is no information about Ur during this period, so it is not possible to know whether that city was under the authority of Kandalānu or of Ashurbanipal. Indeed, no text dated at Ur after 649 and before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II has been preserved.¹¹ While documents dated to the reign of Nabopolassar have been found at Ur, none were specifically dated there and some state that they were drawn up elsewhere (e.g., Babylon and Borsippa).¹² Thus, they may have been taken to Ur after the reign of Nabopolassar. The reason for this lack of texts is unknown. Had Ur been so severely hurt by rebel actions during the revolt that it now lapsed into a period of obscurity and neglect? Had trouble continued with the surrounding tribal groups and weakened its position? Or with the lessening of its importance as a bastion against these groups had it stagnated into a provincial backwater? L284

It has frequently been suggested that Kandalānu and Ashurbanipal were one and the same person because statements attributed to Berossos record that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was succeeded by his brother (variant: Sardanapallos [=Ashurbanipal]), because Kandalānu and Ashurbanipal appear to have died

⁸ See Appendix A, tables 2 and 4. Approximately one half of the Babylonian economic texts dated by Ashurbanipal's regnal years gave him the title "king of the lands," one quarter the title "king of Assyria," and one fifth the title "king of the world."

⁹ Texts were dated at Nippur under Aššur-etil-ilāni, Sīn-šumu-lišir, and Sīn-šarra-iškun (see B-K sub M, N, and O; there are no texts from Nippur dated by Nabopolassar until his nineteenth year (*ROMCT* 2 7; see Kennedy, *JCS* 38 [1986]: 210 no. T.19.55).

¹⁰ *OECT* 10 399 (B-K J.24).

¹¹ *BM* 113928 (B-K J.13) was dated at Ur on 29-I-year 20 of Ashurbanipal; for texts dated at Ur during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, see *UET* 4, p. 3.

¹² See *UET* 4, pp. 3 and 6 and Brinkman, *Or.* NS 34 (1965): 256-57.

in the same year (627), and because Kandalānu has been attested only in kinglists and date formulae, and not in letters or historical texts. While there is no conclusive evidence on the matter, it seems more likely that they were separate individuals.¹³ The tradition that has preserved the statements of Berossos is very involved and cannot be accepted without question. It is not impossible that Kandalānu was forgotten, overshadowed by the Assyrian king, because he had little or no authority over Babylonia and had carried out no actions worthy of record. Although Kandalānu is not attested in historical texts, there are in fact comparatively few royal records from Assyria that deal with events after the fall of Susa. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn left few royal inscriptions and he clearly had more authority than Kandalānu.

A few fragmentary Assyrian inscriptions and one dedicatory text from Nippur include among Ashurbanipal's many titles and epithets "king of Sumer and Akkad" and/or "viceroy of Babylon," and at least one of the Assyrian texts clearly dates to the period after Kandalānu would have ascended the throne of Babylonia. This would suggest that Ashurbanipal claimed the rulership of Babylonia and could be used to support the identification of Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu. However, some of the texts which give him these titles may date to periods when there was no king of Babylonia recognized by Assyria (e.g., during the revolt and before the appointment of Kandalānu) and others may be the products of sloppy or over-zealous scribes. The major Assyrian texts from this period do not give Ashurbanipal these titles.

There is no evidence that alternate "throne names" were ever used by Assyrian kings during their lifetimes and in any case it would have been strange for Ashurbanipal to choose to rule Babylonia under a name that presumably means "shaped like a *kandalu*-utensil" and that could reflect some physical deformity. Also, if Ashurbanipal were Kandalānu, one might expect some confusion or alternation of the royal names in date formulae from Babylonia, but none is found. After the twenty-ninth day of Nisannu (I) of 646 the only economic texts from Babylonia dated by Ashurbanipal are from Nippur, and there are no texts at all dated by Kandalānu from that city. It is, of course, possible that Kandalānu and Ashurbanipal died in the same year. Kandalānu may have been deposed (and killed) during unrest at the death of the Assyrian king (see below). Finally, a fragment of a recently published Neo-Assyrian letter may mention Kandalānu in connection with the Assyrian

¹³ At least this is the view of the author and many current scholars (e.g., Brinkman in *RLA* 5, p. 368). In a recent study of the matter, however, S. Zawadzki has argued strongly for an identification of Kandalānu with Ashurbanipal (*Fall of Assyria*, pp. 57-62). In view of his support for this contrary view, it has seemed best to re-examine the matter in detail. This re-examination is presented in Appendix F; what follows here is a summary of the major matters discussed there.

royal family. *CT* 53 966 refers to Kandalānu and Šērū'a-ēterat in successive lines: [...] x *še-ru-u-a-KAR-at*(?) and [...] *kan-dāl-a-nu* (lines 9-10). Since Šērū'a-ēterat was the name of a sister of Ashurbanipal and since references to [Bīt]-Ibā(?) (line 6) and the king of Elam (rev. 2) point to a southern focus for the letter, it seems likely that this letter refers to the individual who was, or was to become, king of Babylonia.¹⁴ The mention of Kandalānu in a letter together with Šērū'a-ēterat might suggest that he was connected with the Assyrian royal family, but since the letter is badly damaged and appears to deal with political, not family matters, any conclusions must be considered extremely tentative.

Little is known about Kandalānu, undoubtedly because he was a mere figurehead with no real power or authority. Ashurbanipal would not have wanted to risk another revolt in Babylonia by giving actual control to anyone else. Not wishing to follow the example of his grandfather Sennacherib and abolish the position of king of Babylonia, and thereby add to the grievances of the Babylonians, Ashurbanipal probably decided to appoint a puppet ruler in the southern kingdom. Various proposals have been made for the identification of Kandalānu in addition to Ashurbanipal. Following Berossos, he might have been another son of Esarhaddon.¹⁵ Possibly he was a son of Ashurbanipal¹⁶ or a Babylonian whose loyalty Ashurbanipal felt was unquestioned. He may even have been someone who was deformed¹⁷ or simple-minded, and thus unlikely to be able to win the support of his people in any action against Assyria; however, the appointment of such an individual might well have been regarded as a grave insult by Babylonians and caused further trouble. It has also been suggested that Kandalānu was actually a statue that represented Ashurbanipal at the Akītu festival.¹⁸ However, if this were true, why was Kandalānu not acknowledged at Nippur also? In the absence of any conclusive evidence, Kandalānu remains an enigma, but, although the identification of Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu cannot be totally ruled out, on the basis of the evidence currently available it is more likely that they were two separate individuals.

¹⁴ The writing of the name Kandalānu in the letter would be unique (see pp. 191-92 n. 3 above) but then this would be the only reference to Kandalānu in a letter, and in an Assyrian letter at that.

¹⁵ Thus, for example, Ahmed, *Asb.*, p. 108.

¹⁶ In her unpublished dissertation, "A Survey of Neo-Babylonian History" (University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 8-9, E.N. von Voigtlander suggested that Kandalānu may be identified with Aššur-etil-ilāni and that the texts dated by him as Aššur-etil-ilāni at Nippur are contemporary with the later texts dated by him as Kandalānu elsewhere (i.e., Ashurbanipal died before 627 and Aššur-etil-ilāni then ruled Nippur by his Assyrian name since Nippur was kept under direct Assyrian rule). See, however, J. Oates, *CAH* 3/2 (in press).

¹⁷ See p. 304.

¹⁸ Reade, *JCS* 23 (1970-71): 1.

After Ashurbanipal reconquered Babylonia, he appointed new governors and officials who he hoped would be loyal and submissive to him and imposed the payment of new taxes, tribute, and offerings for Assyrian gods.¹⁹ No major Babylonian officials are known to have held office both during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt and into the reign of Kandalānu except Bēl-ibni and Kudurru, and their respective offices during the revolt are unclear. As was suggested, Kandalānu's authority over Babylonia was undoubtedly severely limited, if not non-existent. Officials in Uruk and the Sealand continued to report to Ashurbanipal on both domestic and military matters and to take orders from him.²⁰ One of the officials appointed by Ashurbanipal after the conquest of Babylon was likely Šamaš-danninanni, who is variously called governor—*šaknu* or *šakin māti*—of Akkad and (provincial) governor—(*ša*) *pīḫati*—of Babylon. The former title could suggest that he had some authority over northern Babylonia in general and his importance is further indicated by the fact that he is mentioned as eponym in Assyrian texts composed shortly after the revolt (c. 643).²¹ All other "Babylonian" officials who were considered to be eponyms in Assyrian texts governed areas annexed to Assyria (Dēr, Laḫīru, and perhaps Dūr-Šarrukku).²² Although the presence of Kandalānu on the throne of Babylon (and the dating of texts there by his regnal years) indicates that Babylonia was not annexed to Assyria at this time, Šamaš-danninanni's eponymate may well reflect closer Assyrian control over Babylonia than had been the case earlier in the reign of Ashurbanipal.

Ashurbanipal continued to carry out building projects in Babylonia and did so without reference to Kandalānu. Some of this work may have been the repair of damage done during the revolt, especially in the conquest of the rebel cities. Editions C and K of Ashurbanipal's annals, both compiled soon after the end of the revolt, have lengthy introductory sections that describe the Assyrian king's good works, in particular his restoration of temples in Assyria and Babylonia. Just as he felt it necessary to justify his actions in Babylonia by claiming that Enlil and Marduk, the chief gods of Babylonia, had allowed him to defeat Šamaš-šuma-ukīn,²³ this work might have been his

¹⁹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 40-41 iv 104-109.

²⁰ E.g., *ABL* 274 and 281. The author of *ABL* 274, Kudurru, uses the traditional Urukian introductory formula and does not refer to warfare or Nabū-ušabši; thus, it is likely that his letter was composed after the revolt when Kudurru was governor of Uruk. The references in *ABL* 281 to Assyrian troops having gone against Elam and to Ḫumban-ḫaltaš wanting to deliver up Nabū-bēl-šumāi to Assyria indicate that this letter was composed after a campaign against Ḫumban-ḫaltaš III, thus likely after the revolt.

²¹ See chapter 3 and Appendix B sub 1 and 2a. Zawadzki (*Fall of Assyria*, pp. 61-62) argues that Šamaš-danninanni controlled all of Babylonia, but see pp. 301-302.

²² See pp. 222-24.

²³ Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933): 86, 95, and pl. 94:111-112.

way of apologizing for the damage (and sacrilege) suffered by Babylon and the Esagila temple at the capture of the city.²⁴ Ashurbanipal's inscriptions dating after the revolt refer to work done by him at Babylon (Esagila, its ziggurat, and possibly the temple of Gula), Borsippa (Ezida), Cutha (Emeslam, the temple of the god Nergal), and Dēr (Edimgalkamma, the temple of the god Istarān);²⁵ however, it is not possible to know whether these projects were undertaken before or after the revolt.

A great deal of construction was carried out at Nippur in the seventh century and Ashurbanipal was responsible for at least some of it. He has left inscriptions in which he claims to have renovated the temple of the god Enlil (Ekur) and to have restored its ziggurat. These texts do not mention Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and while the brick inscriptions may simply not have had room to do so, this can not be said for the one cylinder inscription. The fact that this cylinder inscription, which describes the restoration of the ziggurat, gives Ashurbanipal the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" might also suggest that it came from a time when Ashurbanipal (or the scribes at Nippur) did not acknowledge the authority of any other person over Babylonia, or at least over the city of Nippur. This could suggest the time of the rebellion of 652-648 but it would seem unlikely that the ziggurat would have been restored then. Thus, this inscription and Ashurbanipal's work on the ziggurat probably date to the time of Kandalānu, who was a mere puppet ruler and one with no authority over Nippur.²⁶ Archaeological evidence would suggest that his work in the Ekur resulted in changes in circulation and in the functioning of that temple.²⁷ A brick with an inscription recording Ashurbanipal's work on Ekur has also been found in a pavement associated with the socle of the Inanna temple at Nippur and this would suggest that he also authorized some

²⁴ Tadmor in *HBI*, p. 49.

²⁵ Nassouhi, *AJK* 2 (1924-25): 97-106; Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 146-51 x 17-46 and 186-87 rev. 24-25; Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933): 82-84, 92-93, and pl. 92:42-59 and 69-70 (Istarān is called [A]N.GAL [likely Anu-rabū]); Thompson, *PEA*, pp. 29-30, 32-33, and pls. 14-16 i 21-ii 6 and iii 15-37. See Bergamini, *Mesopotamia* 12 [1977]: 149 for work on the ziggurat at Babylon done at some point during the reign of Ashurbanipal. For inscriptions referring to work by Ashurbanipal at Akkad (temple of the goddess Istar), Babylon (ziggurat), Dūr-Kurigalzu (structure possibly associated with the god Enlil), and Tell Haddad (temple of the god Nergal) which might also date to this period, see pp. 112-13.

²⁶ Bricks: Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 352-53 no. 3b (Ekur; the inscription is modelled upon one by Adad-šuma-ušur which may have come to light during the work ordered by Ashurbanipal [see *ibid.*, p. LXIV]); *PBS* 15 74 (ē-zi-DAR-x); Gerardi, *ARRIM* 4 (1986): 37 (possibly a well, pū!-galam!?, located inside Eḫursaggamma; new reading courtesy P. Gerardi). Cylinder: Gerardi, *Sjöberg Festschrift*, pp. 207-15 (possibly referring to the temple on top of the ziggurat and not to the ziggurat itself); with regard to the date of the text, see also pp. 304-305.

²⁷ For archaeological evidence of work on the Ekur during the Assyrian period (including the presence of bricks with inscriptions of Ashurbanipal in the floor of level II), see McCown and Haines, *Nippur* 1, pp. 18 and 27.

repairs on this structure even though there is no textual evidence for this.²⁸ A new city wall was built about this time and its excavators have suggested that Ashurbanipal is the most likely candidate to have ordered its construction.²⁹ All this work may well date to the period after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt when Nippur was under direct Assyrian control.

While Ashurbanipal was restoring temples throughout Babylonia, the statues of the gods in them were being repaired and given new and rich adornments.³⁰ At the same time, the Assyrian king's agents were collecting and copying inscriptions for the archives in Nineveh. While some of these texts were forfeited as spoils of war, others may have been taken or copied by explicit command.³¹ It is possible that CT 22 1, a letter from an Assyrian king, is to be assigned to this time; it records an order for the collection of various literary works in private and temple libraries in Borsippa and for their delivery to Assyria. The king had written to the governor and temple administrator (*šatammu*) about the matter and no one was to be permitted to withhold tablets.³² Evidence of scholarly work in Babylonia at this time is meagre, though a building inscription dealing with the Ezida in Borsippa from the time of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, a ruler of the Second Dynasty of Isin, was recopied in Kandalānu's fifteenth year.³³ Astronomical observations, however, continued to be made and recorded. One document from the reign of Kandalānu records observations of planetary movements in terms of the king's reign, the lunar month and state of the moon, and also the part of the sky in which the planet (saturn) was visible. This tablet has been described as having "the earliest observations in any civilization giving you all the data one needs to date astronomical observations."³⁴

Only a few documents bear witness to economic activity in Babylonia in the first five years after the revolt (647-643); on average about four texts a year come from this time.³⁵ Undoubtedly the country was still suffering from the ravages of war. Beginning in 642, business and commerce appear to

²⁸ See R.L. Zettler, "The Ur-III Inanna Temple at Nippur" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984), pp. 83-84 n. 1.

²⁹ Gibson, Zettler, and Armstrong, *Sumer* 39 (1983): 177 and 189.

³⁰ E.g., VAS 6 1 (B-K L.56; gold ornaments for Aya). Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 276-87 refers to a dedication of a gold incense altar for Marduk in Esagila.

³¹ See Parpola, *JNES* 42 (1983): 1-29, particularly pp. 10-12, and above, p. 156 n. 107. Note also CT 54 57 and 106 (see Moren, *RA* 74 [1980]: 190-91).

³² Lieberman points out that we only have two students' copies of the letter and argues that it is unlikely that Ashurbanipal was the king mentioned in it (*Moran Festschrift*, pp. 310 and 312); however, the points he raises to support this belief are not particularly strong and the matter must remain open.

³³ King, *LIH* 70.

³⁴ See Walker, *BSMS* 5 (1983): 20-21.

³⁵ This and the following statements are based upon a study of the patterns discernable in the tables presented in Appendix A and assumes (perhaps erroneously) that a representative sample of texts has been preserved from the various sites.

have increased; for the years 642-627 there is an average of eleven texts per year. By far the majority of those that can be assigned to a given locality came from the north (Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat, and Sippar), a pattern found also during the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. Documents from Nippur are more common than in the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn,³⁶ which may reflect an increase in the importance of the city as the Assyrian base of operations. Conditions in the south appear to have been less prosperous. No documents are known from Ur during this period and Uruk provides only about six per cent of the total number of documents known for the period 647-627, as compared with about thirteen per cent for the years 669-648.³⁷

The economic documents of the period most commonly record sales of land (houses, field, orchards, vacant lots), loans, and inventories of livestock. Accounts of the current disposition of sheep and goats make up about seven per cent of the total number of texts and are of a type which is hitherto unattested, but which continued in use into the reign of Cambyses II (529-522).³⁸ Presumably they reflect some change in the administration of livestock which now required these records. As in the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, temple prebends were sold; transactions are attested which involve prebends in temples at Babylon (the office of butcher in Esagila), Uruk (office of baker before the goddess Ištar of Uruk), and Dilbat (the office of

³⁶ Almost three times as many texts from Nippur are dated to the years 647-627 than to 668-653, though the former period is only a third longer than the latter.

³⁷ Matters may have declined at Uruk at some point after the revolt. While the city provides almost thirty per cent of the documents from 648-642, only about five per cent of the texts for 641-627 come from Uruk. As Brinkman notes (*Prelude*, p. 108), accident of discovery may be particularly significant here.

³⁸ E.g., Wellcome Collection 1971.08; Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 47 nos. 10 and 11; PTS 2791; Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 48-49 nos. 12, 13 and 14; PTS 3011; PTS 2377; and Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 56 no. 20 (B-K L.26, L.30-33a, L.37, L.53, L.54, and L.133 respectively). In each the format is basically the same: a list of various types of sheep and goats with the respective numbers of animals, the total number of animals (ranging from 125 to 795), the current disposition of the animals ("under the control of PN"), and the date. The place from which the documents come is never stated, nor is the name of the scribe. The texts tend to come in clusters (for example, five between 22-III and 24-III of Kandalānu's ninth year), suggesting that they were found together. An examination of this type of text from the various reigns during which it is attested reveals other such clusters of texts; however, it also indicates that the texts come from every month of the year (though the third month is particularly common) and from almost every day of the month. The shearing of sheep generally took place in the spring, in February-May (see Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie*, pp. 10-11 and Postgate, *JSS* 20 [1975]: 4) though today May-June is the normal time in southern Iraq. Possibly the preponderance of documents from the third month reflects some regular accounting of the sheep and goats after their shearing. Quite likely these texts represent accounts of a large temple or estate whose herds were under the supervision of various herdsmen. See San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 20 (1951): 133-39, especially p. 134 n. 1; and Frame, *JAOS* 104 (1984): 751-52.

"temple-enterer" in Eimbi-Anum, the sanctuary of the god Uraš).³⁹ Several documents deal with iron and iron implements, one of which refers to an ironsmith and one talent of iron from Cilicia;⁴⁰ documents involving oil and sesame are also particularly common.⁴¹ In comparison to the case with the documents from the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, a much larger percentage do not indicate the place at which they were composed. The reason for this is that a higher percentage of the economic texts from the reign of Kandalānu are records of accounts (e.g., the livestock accounts mentioned above and documents recording the issue or receipt of various commodities). These tend to be less formal than legal documents recording major business transactions (sales of property and loans) which may have been needed later in court.

Nippur remained under direct Assyrian control, dated its documents by the regnal years of the king of Assyria, and may well have housed an Assyrian garrison. The presence of glazed pottery similar to Assyrian palace wares would suggest an Assyrian presence or at least strong Assyrian influence in the city. Although the exact date of the pottery is uncertain, a date during the period of Assyrian domination would seem likely.⁴² As already mentioned, it is probable that at least some of the extensive work carried out in the city in the name of Ashurbanipal is to be dated to the time after the rebellion of 652-648 rather than to the time before it. The main body of the family archive of Ninurta-uballiṭ son of Bēl-usāt begins at Nippur during this period and stretches into the reigns of Aššur-etil-ilāni and Sīn-šarra-iškun. Ninurta-uballiṭ himself appears in at least fifteen legal transactions, from 651 until the third year of Sīn-šarra-iškun. In most texts, he is depicted as creditor (loan agreements) or purchaser (sales of children and land).⁴³

³⁹ Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): 45 and duplicate Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 41-42 no. 6; Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 278 no. 6; *OECT* 10 398 and duplicate Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 54-55 no. 19 (from Babylon but dealing with a temple in Dilbat); note also BM 40542 in which a number of days of the office of butcher appear to be given as security for a loan (*B-K* L. 11-12, L. 107, L. 116-117, and L. 185 respectively).

⁴⁰ NCBT 1093 (*B-K* L. 144). See Brinkman in Curtis, *Bronzeworking Centres*, p. 155 n. 49 for information on this text and *ibid.*, pp. 135-68 for textual evidence of the use of bronze and iron in the first half of the first millennium. Other texts mentioning iron include BM 54030, BM 62730, *CT* 55 222, and IM 64669 (*B-K* L. 99, L. 141, L. 150, and L. 173 respectively).

⁴¹ E.g., BM 49326; Dalley, *Edinburgh*, no. 61; Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 3 no. 4; BM 49201; Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 5 no. 6; BM 49167; and BM 49279 (*B-K* L. 2, L. 43-44, L. 71, L. 76, L. 82, and L. 86 respectively).

⁴² See pp. 23-24.

⁴³ The archive comprises 2 NT 280-307 and was found in TA/52, 30 cm above level III/1 floor. See Oppenheim, *Iraq* 17 (1955): 69-89 for an initial study of this archive. Some texts from the archive date before 651, to the reigns of Sargon II, Bēl-ibni, and Sennacherib. While Ninurta-uballiṭ's father appears in the one document from the reign of Bēl-ibni (2 NT

Uruk is the only Babylonian city for which there is substantial information during the reign of Kandalānu, yet most of it deals with the first few years after the revolt.⁴⁴ During this period the city was undoubtedly attempting to recover from the damage caused during the revolt.⁴⁵ It seems reasonable that the Kudurru who was governor of Uruk in 647 and 646 is the same Kudurru active at Uruk during the rebellion while Nabû-ušabši was governor; however, this cannot be proven.⁴⁶ There are a few letters between Kudurru and Ashurbanipal which may date from the first few years after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt,⁴⁷ but unfortunately they provide little historical information. Kudurru reported to the Assyrian king on domestic matters, Elam, and Bēl-ibni's actions. In addition he appears to have become involved in a legal dispute with Šamaš-danninanni, the governor of the province of Akkad, over some Puqudians who had been dedicated to the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya by the Assyrian kings Sargon and Sennacherib. A problem had arisen over their status already in the time of Esarhaddon but that king had confirmed that they belonged to the goddesses. The outcome of the matter is unknown.⁴⁸ Kudurru had either left office or was dead by the twenty-fourth day of Simanu (III) of 642, when Nabû-zēru-līšir is attested as governor of Uruk.⁴⁹ No *šatammu* (chief administrator) of the Eanna temple at Uruk is attested during the reign of Kandalānu after 642, when Bēl-uballiṭ is known to have held office. Šamaš-ilaya, who held the title "*qīpu* of Uruk and Eanna," is given prominence in the witness lists during the years 642 to 637 and appears in office only a few months after the last *šatammu* is attested.⁵⁰ The temple administration at Uruk had presumably been restructured with the *qīpu* now holding the dominant position.

284 [IM 57904]; *B-K* E.3), the reason for the presence of some other texts in the archive is not clear.

⁴⁴ Note the drop in the number of economic texts from Uruk after 642 (see p. 199 n. 37).

⁴⁵ Note the reference to houses being in ruins in *ABL* 880+*CT* 54 43 rev. 2-3.

⁴⁶ See chapter 8. There is no evidence of any other governor of Uruk between Nabû-ušabši (last attested on 20-I-649) and Kudurru (first attested as governor on 20-I-647).

⁴⁷ *ABL* 274, 277, and 518. The third letter is dated to 24-II-eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu; the first two should probably be assigned to the period after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt since Kudurru used in them an introductory formula usually employed by governors of Uruk (see Frame in *Cuneiform Archives*, pp. 262-65), since Kudurru is only attested as governor after the revolt, and since neither letter gives the impression that warfare (the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt) was in progress in Babylonia.

⁴⁸ *BIN* 2 132. Lines 12-13 read ¹²UTU-di-na-an-ni LÚ[.GAR].KUR URU.KI¹³ i-ti ¹⁴NÍG.DU LÚ.GAR.KU UNUG.KI di-i-ni¹⁵ ig-r[e-e-ma ...]. "Šamaš-danninanni, the [g]overnor of Akkad, brought a lawsuit against Kudurru, the governor of Uruk [and ...]" (collation courtesy J.A. Brinkman).

⁴⁹ *PTS* 2479 (*B-K* L. 14).

⁵⁰ See Appendix B sub 15. The *šatammu* Bēl-uballiṭ may be identified with the author of *ABL* 880+*CT* 54 43 and *ABL* 1129.

A statue of the goddess Nanaya of Uruk had been taken to Elam in the distant past, likely carried off from Uruk in the course of an Elamite raid. According to Ashurbanipal, Humban-haltaš III of Elam had refused to return the statue to Babylonia. During the course of his second campaign against Humban-haltaš (c. 646), Ashurbanipal recovered the statue from Susa and sent it back to the Eanna in Uruk.⁵¹ As punishment for Elam's abduction of the statue, Ashurbanipal may have ordered that statues of several Elamite gods be sent to Uruk to sit in captivity before the goddess Nanaya. A chronicle states that in his accession year "Nabopolassar sent back to Susa the gods of Susa whom Assyria had carried off and settled in Uruk"⁵² and the mostly likely Assyrian king to have sent Elamite statues from Susa to Uruk is Ashurbanipal.

There appears to have been some action by Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu (or their officials) affecting the ownership or tenancy of certain large plots of land in the area of Uruk;⁵³ however, it is not clear if the land was being redistributed or if usual arrangements were being confirmed or simply recorded. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the texts indicate that the Assyrian king took a number of date palm orchards which belonged to the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya and which were managed by officials or prebendaries of Eanna and gave them to individuals to work for the benefit of the god Ninurta. Those benefiting were supporters of Ashurbanipal and by implication those being deprived of land were individuals who had not supported Ashurbanipal during the revolt of 652-648.⁵⁴ On the other hand, it has been argued that since the god Ninurta was also worshipped in Eanna, the texts merely record and confirm the donation of land to Eanna, land meant specifically for Ninurta.⁵⁵

Towards the end of the period is first attested the career of Nabû-ušallim son of Bēl-iddin, an individual whose archive was found in a house in the southwest of the Eanna precinct (Nd XVI 5) at Uruk. Although his activities began in 631 (and continued into the reign of Nabopolassar), one of the texts from the archive comes from the reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi, four from the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and one from the reign of Ashurbanipal (time of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt). The reason for the presence of some of these earlier texts with the texts of Nabû-ušallim is uncertain; however, all of them

⁵¹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 58-59 vi 107-124 and 175-76 no. 2 rev. 6-8; Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 58-59 v 72-vi 11; Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933): 85, 94, and pl. 93:102-104; Thompson, *PEA*, p. 35 and pl. 17 v 9-32. Note Cogan's discussion of this incident in *Imperialism*, pp. 13-15.

⁵² Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 2:15-17.

⁵³ *AnOr* 9 2 (reign of Ashurbanipal, *B-K* Jn.6); *AnOr* 9 3 and *BIN* 1 159 (years 2 and 8 of Kandalānu, *B-K* L.5 and L.29).

⁵⁴ Cocquerillat, *WO* 7 (1973-74): 107. See also Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 23-25.

⁵⁵ Zawadzki, *FO* 18 (1977): 187-97.

were composed at Uruk and involve prebends (purchases of prebends or loans with prebends as security) and during his own career Nabû-ušallim was interested in acquiring prebends at Uruk. Only two of the fifteen texts mentioning Nabû-ušallim date to the reign of Kandalānu. In one, Nabû-ušallim purchased a field in the district of the great gate inside Uruk and in the other he purchased fifteen days of a prebend in the office of baker before the goddess Ištar of Uruk.⁵⁶

In between sections dealing with campaigns by Ashurbanipal against Humban-haltaš III of Elam (see below), one Assyrian royal inscription records that the Assyrian king carried off from Elam to Assyria "[the people] of Uruk, Nippur, Larak, [Bīt]-Dakkūri, and Bīt-Amukāni [who] had cut back [on the gifts] (due) to Assyria ([ša ina tāma]rti māt aššur iḥarrašū) (and) [had fled] to Elam." This may refer to Babylonians who had acted either during or immediately after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt. The former seems more likely since it is improbable that Babylonians would have risked another rebellion so soon after the last. The inscription goes on to say that having investigated the matter Ashurbanipal killed the captives.⁵⁷ The situation described in *Ezra* 4:9-10 may be connected to this incident. In this preamble to a letter to Artaxerxes, reference is made to people of Uruk, Babylon, and Susa whom one Asnappar (variant: Osnappar) had deported and settled in Samaria and the rest of the province "Beyond-the-River."⁵⁸ If people from all these cities had been deported by one king, Ashurbanipal is the most likely, for he had conquered both Babylonia and Elam and had cause to punish both lands. The mention of Susa would suggest a date after his conquest of that city which took place c. 646 (see below and Appendix E). Since Uruk as a whole had remained loyal to Ashurbanipal during the rebellion, presumably it would have been individual supporters of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn from that city who were deported.

Most of the detailed evidence available for this period deals with Elam and Bēl-ibni of the Sealand in the first two or three years after the rebellion. One of the few other incidents that might date to this time is the attack by the Aramean Puqūdu tribe upon the Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Amukāni reported in *ABL* 275. This attack was discussed in the previous chapter since it could also date to the time of the revolt. Conflict between Assyria and Elam was

⁵⁶ For the archive of Nabû-ušallim, see van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 41-43; Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 193-304 (nos. 2 and 6 date to the reign of Kandalānu); and Zawadzki, *FO* 20 (1979): 175-84. Note Brinkman, *Or.* NS 41 (1972): 245 for the date of the one document from the reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi (*B-K* F.1).

⁵⁷ Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967): 57-60. On the matter of the payment of tribute to Assyria, see pp. 238-39.

⁵⁸ Earlier, when Samaria was captured by the Assyrians and the Israelites were deported, people from Babylonia were settled in the towns of Samaria according to 2 Kings 17:24. Note also *Ezra* 4:2 which refers to people settled in Palestine by Esarhaddon.

inevitable in view of Elam's support of the Babylonian rebels and its refusal to deliver up the arch-rebel Nabû-bêl-šumâti, who had taken refuge in Elam. Ashurbanipal undoubtedly also wished to capture and punish supporters of Nabû-bêl-šumâti and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn who had been given refuge in Elam and to free Assyrian and Babylonian prisoners taken there.⁵⁹ The campaigns of Ashurbanipal against Īumban-ḫaltaš III and Bêl-ibni's involvement in them can not be treated in any detail in this study, since they deserve a monograph of their own. However, since the Sealand was used as a base of operations against Elam and since a Babylonian, Nabû-bêl-šumâti, was a major cause of these wars, a few words will be said about them.

Two campaigns were conducted by Ashurbanipal against Elam and its ruler Īumban-ḫaltaš III during the years 648-645 in retaliation for their aid to Šamaš-šuma-ukîn and Nabû-bêl-šumâti.⁶⁰ The first campaign likely took place in 647, commencing in the third month. Several tribal groups and towns along the Elamite-Babylonian border immediately submitted to Ashurbanipal. These included some Gambulians and the town of Laḫîru. If the town of Laḫîru refers to the capital of the province by that name which was located to the northeast of Babylonia and whose governor had aided in crushing the rebellion of 652-648, then the town must have fallen to the Elamites or revolted towards the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukîn Revolt, or immediately thereafter. It is possible, however, that it is to be identified with a separate town, perhaps located to the southeast of Dêr, which belonged to the Aramean tribe of Laḫîru who dwelt along the Babylonian-Elamite border.⁶¹ It is also possible that the term town (URU) was used loosely and referred simply to the tribe by that name. After the Assyrian army captured the Elamite border fortress of Bît-Imbî, punished its defenders, and entered Elam proper, Īumban-ḫaltaš abandoned the city of Madaktu and fled to the mountains. Tammariṭu (II), who had sought refuge in Assyria when overthrown by Indabibi, was installed as ruler in Susa by Ashurbanipal, but soon removed when he objected to the plundering being carried out by Assyrian troops. Ashurbanipal claims to have captured, looted, and destroyed twenty-nine Elamite cities before returning to Assyria.⁶²

The second campaign, probably dating to the second half of 647 or more likely to 646, was even more extensive and destructive than the first. As in the previous campaign, the Assyrian troops first headed for the border city of Bît-Imbî. When it and its nearby regions were taken, Īumban-ḫaltaš again

⁵⁹ With regard to prisoners, see *ABL* 460 and perhaps 1430.

⁶⁰ For the date of these campaigns, see Appendix E.

⁶¹ See Zadok, *WO* 16 (1985): 71, but note the contrary opinion of Brinkman in *PKB*, p. 178 n. 1093. With regard to Laḫîru, note also the episode described in *ABL* 280; see pp. 205-206.

⁶² Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 40-47 iv 110-v 62; Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 44-49 iii 33-iv 16; Cogan and Tadmor, *Or.* NS 50 (1981): 233-34 col. b 29-37; and note *CT* 54 567.

fled from Madaktu. The Assyrians captured, looted, and destroyed numerous cities, towns, and regions as they advanced further and further into Elamite territory; in particular, fourteen royal cities, including Susa and Madaktu, fell to the invaders. Susa, the most important city of the country, was thoroughly looted and ruthlessly destroyed. Among the great plunder taken by the Assyrians were items given to Elamite monarchs by Šamaš-šuma-ukîn and previous Babylonian kings to win Elamite aid. The statues of numerous Elamite gods were carried off to Assyria and their temples razed; the tombs of the Elamite kings were desecrated and their bones exposed to the sun; fields were sown with salt and cress in order to destroy their productivity. The statue of the goddess Nanaya which had been taken to Elam from Uruk in the distant past was recovered and sent back to Uruk.⁶³ By the time Ashurbanipal left Elam, taking with him a large part of its wealth and vast numbers of people and animals, Elam lay devastated.⁶⁴

Bêl-ibni, a loyal servant of Assyria in the Sealand during and after the revolt, was ideally suited to report on conditions in Elam and to lead efforts against that country. The dates of the incidents described in his letters are often unclear since Nabû-bêl-šumâti may have continued to stir up trouble in the south even after Babylon fell. Bêl-ibni was involved in at least one of Ashurbanipal's two campaigns against Īumban-ḫaltaš III.⁶⁵ He reported to the king that Elam lived in fear because of Assyrian actions, that it was in a state of turmoil due to internal unrest, and that famine had swept that land.⁶⁶ He wrote about garrisoning various border positions, making raids against the border tribes and into Elam, killing the enemy, and taking large numbers of prisoners, and much booty.⁶⁷ On one occasion he sent five hundred soldiers to man the town of Zabdānu and to raid Elam. These troops marched against the Elamite city of Irgidu, slew two hundred of the enemy, including several of their leaders, and took one hundred and fifty prisoners. Because of this military action, the sheikhs of the town of Laḫîru and the Nugû' people submitted to Bêl-ibni's nephew Mušēzib-Marduk, took an oath of loyalty to

⁶³ One text indicates that a primary reason for the campaign was to recover the statue of Nanaya which Īumban-ḫaltaš had refused to return (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 174-75 no. 2 rev. 6-8 and see Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 14).

⁶⁴ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 46-64 v 63-vii 81; Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 48-61 iv 17-vi 21; Thompson, *PEA*, pp. 34-35 and pls. 16-17 iv 36-v 32; and Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933): 85, 94, and pl. 93:102-104.

⁶⁵ *ABL* 462:14-16. Although the name of the author is not preserved, the introduction used (blessing by the gods Aššur, Šamaš, and Marduk) and the contents (e.g., references to a request for the extradition of Nabû-bêl-šumâti and the sea) point to Bêl-ibni as being the author. See also *ABL* 794.

⁶⁶ *ABL* 280 rev. 15-23, 281:5-23, and 521 rev. 15-20 (date uncertain).

⁶⁷ E.g., *ABL* 280, 462 (name of author restored), 520, 792, and 794.

Assyria, and aided in actions against Elam.⁶⁸ On another occasion, Bēl-ibni sent troops against the regions of Aqbānu and 'Alē, where they killed a number of the enemy, carried off one hundred and thirty captives, and destroyed those regions with fire. The enemy laid an ambush for them, but they avoided it and in an ensuing battle again won the upper hand. About the same time, Bēl-ibni took six hundred archers and fifty horsemen to Bāb-Marrati ("Gate-of-the-Sea"). From there forces went on by raft into hostile territory, to the town of Maḥmītu, and carried off 1500 cattle belonging to the king of Elam and the sheikh of the tribe of Pillatu.⁶⁹ Large numbers of the enemy are known to have fallen into the hands of Bēl-ibni; two letters refer to one thousand prisoners having been taken by him.⁷⁰ He appears to have had a sizeable number of troops under his command and he continued to request further support from the king, although these requests were not always answered.⁷¹ It is difficult, however, to fit all of Bēl-ibni's reports neatly into the actions of the campaigns as described in the annals of the Assyrian king, and some may refer to actions during the rebellion of 652-648 against rebels in the border region.

As was mentioned, the question of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's sanctuary in Elam was a major cause of the Assyrian offensive in Elam,⁷² although the main reason for these campaigns was undoubtedly Ashurbanipal's desire to punish Elam for its aid to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, to crush the threat of that country once and for all, and to set up a king of Assyria's choosing. Several of Bēl-ibni's letters report on the continuing attempts to seize Nabû-bēl-šumāti or to have him handed over to Assyria and it is clear that Bēl-ibni was actively involved in the matter.⁷³ According to one of Bēl-ibni's letters, Humban-ḫaltaš III claimed that he had wanted to surrender Nabû-bēl-šumāti earlier in order to prevent the Assyrian king from sending troops against Elam but that Nabû-bēl-šumāti had had Elamite supporters who had protected him. Bēl-ibni recommended that Ashurbanipal send him a sealed letter addressed to

⁶⁸ ABL 280; for a translation, see Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 120. Irgidu is said to have lain "two double hours this side of Susa." Since the Lahīru submitted during Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Humban-ḫaltaš III (see above), this letter may well date to that time. Ashurbanipal wrote to Bēl-ibni about Mušēzib-Marduk in ABL 399. It is possible that the Nugū' are to be identified with the Nuguḫu tribe who had aided Nabû-bēl-šumāti against Bēl-ibni (see pp. 181-82 and Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 243).

⁶⁹ ABL 520. The locations of most of the places mentioned are unknown; according to Zadok (*RGTC* 8, p. 59), Bāb-Marrati "was considered to be, in a way, the southernmost place in Babylonia."

⁷⁰ ABL 792 rev. 5'-6' and 794 rev. 15'.

⁷¹ ABL 462 rev. 17'-26'.

⁷² Edition A of the annals actually describes Ashurbanipal's demand for the extradition of Nabû-bēl-šumāti after the conclusion of the second campaign (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 60-61 vii 16-27).

⁷³ ABL 281, 460 (name of author not preserved), 792, and 1286 (name of author not preserved).

Humban-ḫaltaš which requested the arrest of Nabû-bēl-šumāti and said that he would send it secretly to the Elamite king. He warned that if the king wrote directly to Humban-ḫaltaš, Nabû-bēl-šumāti would learn of it and bribe Elamite nobles to protect him. Fortunately, Umḫuluma', who had been Nabû-bēl-šumāti's patron, was now dead and Nabû-bēl-šumāti's position more precarious. The rebel was currently under detention at the Elamite court for having diverted to his own use rations belonging to certain *šarnuppu*-individuals.⁷⁴

Ashurbanipal continued to demand the surrender of Nabû-bēl-šumāti and in Šabaṭu (XI) of the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḫḫē (647 or 646) he wrote to the elders of Elam to warn them of what would happen to them if they did not surrender the rebel.⁷⁵ At some point after the second of the Assyrian campaigns which devastated Elam, Nabû-bēl-šumāti heard that the Assyrian king had again written to Humban-ḫaltaš III about his extradition. He became afraid, and he and his groom slew each other with their swords.⁷⁶ The inability of Humban-ḫaltaš to have Nabû-bēl-šumāti extradited earlier shows that Elam was not united behind its king. Ashurbanipal's campaigns had no doubt helped to destabilize Elam and weaken the king's authority. Ashurbanipal's annals indicate that when Humban-ḫaltaš fled to the mountains during Ashurbanipal's first campaign an individual by the name of Umbaḫabua briefly took his place on the throne and they also refer to one Pa'e, who is said to have exercised the rulership in place of Humban-ḫaltaš III.⁷⁷ In addition, letters refer to other upheavals in Elam.⁷⁸ All these are signs that Elam was internally divided. Humban-ḫaltaš had the corpse of Nabû-bēl-šumāti preserved in salt and sent it and the head of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's groom to the Assyrian king.⁷⁹ In ABL 879, a letter to the Assyrian king written either to accompany the body or after it had been sent, and dated on the twenty-sixth day of Du'ūzu (IV) of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu (646 or 645), the Elamite king attempted to pacify Ashurbanipal by putting the blame for Nabû-bēl-šumāti's presence in Elam and the subsequent battles between the two countries on the Martenaya (perhaps a tribal group living along the border) and promised to punish them. Ashurbanipal did not allow the body of Nabû-bēl-šumāti to be buried, but rather made it "more dead than

⁷⁴ ABL 281. On this letter, see also Stolper, *ZA* 68 (1978): 261-69. He argues that *šarnuppu* designates "intended recipients of rations apportioned."

⁷⁵ BM 132980. With regard to this letter, see p. 123 n. 114.

⁷⁶ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 60-61 vii 28-37; Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933): 85-86, 94-95, and pl. 94:107-109.

⁷⁷ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 44-45 v 11-17 and pp. 62-63 vii 51-52. It is possible that the passages merely indicate a misunderstanding by the Assyrians of the complicated structure of the Elamite monarchy (see p. 29 n. 16).

⁷⁸ ABL 280 and 281.

⁷⁹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 60-63 vii 38-44.

before" by cutting off its head and hanging it around the neck of Nabû-qātē-šabat, an official of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn who had gone with Nabû-bēl-šumāti to incite Elam against Assyria.⁸⁰ Humban-ḫaltaš did not survive much longer on the throne of Elam. According to edition A of Ashurbanipal's annals, the land rose against him and he fled to the mountains; Ashurbanipal sought him out and brought him back to Assyria.⁸¹ Little is known about Babylonian-Elamite relations during the remainder of Ashurbanipal's reign (645-627). Elam was undoubtedly recovering from the Assyrian invasions and attempting to cope with hostile elements from the Iranian plateau. In destroying Elam as a military power, Ashurbanipal ironically eliminated a buffer between Assyria and other groups in Iran, namely the Medes and the Persians, and contributed to the eventual fall of Assyria.

A few years after the revolt, c. 645, Ashurbanipal conducted military actions in the west against the cities of Ušû (near Tyre) and Akko and against Arabs who had supported Šamaš-šuma-ukīn or who had made use of the troubles during the revolt for their own ends, in particular Abiyate' (king of Qedar) and his brother Ayamu, Uaite' (king of Sumu'ilu), and Natnu (king of the Nabayateans). According to Ashurbanipal's scribes the campaigns were successful. The Arabs were defeated, plundered, and many were carried off into captivity. Ušû and Akko were also punished; at Akko, the corpses of rebels were impaled on stakes surrounding the city, to serve as a reminder of what could happen to those who did not faithfully obey Assyria.⁸² Uaite' and three captured Elamite rulers (Tammariṭu, Pa'e, and Humban-ḫaltaš III) were forced to take part in Ashurbanipal's victory celebration in Nineveh and to pull Ashurbanipal's carriage in a procession.⁸³

The last major edition of Ashurbanipal's annals was composed about 643 (edition A). Assyrian royal inscriptions composed after that time record little new military activity, although the poorly preserved edition H (compiled in 639) and Istar Temple text do mention abortive attacks on Assyria by Dugdamme.⁸⁴ By the time edition A was written Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's erstwhile allies (the Arabs and Elam) had been subdued. Undoubtedly

⁸⁰ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 62-63 vii 45-50 and Thompson, AAA 20 (1933): 86, 95, and pl. 94:109-110.

⁸¹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 82-83 x 6-16. Note also Barnett, *North Palace*, p. 46 and pl. 34 (BM 124793; relief and epigraph likely describing the capture of Humban-ḫaltaš).

⁸² These campaigns are recorded in greatest detail in edition A of Ashurbanipal's annals (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 64-83 vii 82-x 5) and on a slab inscription from the temple of Istar at Nineveh (Thompson, AAA 20 [1933]: 86-87, 95-96, and pls. 94-95:113 and 123-129). See Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, pp. 157-65 for the details of these campaigns; he suggests that the campaign against Natnu may be of later date.

⁸³ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 82-85 x 17-39, 272-73:6-10, and 274-75:6-10; Thompson, AAA 20 (1933): 86-87, 95, and pl. 94:118-121.

⁸⁴ With regard to the identity and actions of Dugdamme, see A.Th.L. Kuhrt in *RLA* 7, pp. 186-89 sub Lygdamis.

Ashurbanipal's demonstration of Assyria's might had made the various parts of the empire and its neighbours realize that it would be foolhardy to risk Assyrian anger by supporting or carrying out anti-Assyrian actions. The impact of Ashurbanipal's military victories was felt throughout the Near East. Edition A of Ashurbanipal's annals states that fear of Ashurbanipal's mighty deeds prompted Sardur (Ištar-dūrī), the king of Urartu, to send valuable presents to him⁸⁵ and edition H records that after the Assyrian conquest of Elam Kuraš, ruler of Parsumaš (presumably Cyrus I), and Pišlumê, ruler of Ḫudimeri, sent gifts to Ashurbanipal in order to secure his favour and to establish friendly relations.⁸⁶ A number of other rulers, including Ḫundaru, king of Dilmun, and at least one of his neighbours, also submitted, although exactly when is uncertain.⁸⁷

Politically, practically nothing is known about Babylonia from about 643 until 627. Both Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu appear to have died in 627. Kandalānu is last heard of on the eighth day of Simanu (III); in the month of Araḫsamna (VIII) of that year a document was dated at Babylon "after (the death of) Kandalānu."⁸⁸ His death may have taken place before the sixth month. It is not mentioned in a Babylonian chronicle which may well describe events in that year; the chronicle's first preserved entry is for that month and seems to refer to fighting in Babylon before that point (see below). It may be that Kandalānu did not die a natural death, but rather was deposed and killed in unrest at the time of Ashurbanipal's death. Ashurbanipal is last attested on the twentieth day of Simanu (III) in 631,⁸⁹ but a later inscription of the mother of Nabonidus states that Ashurbanipal reigned forty-two years;⁹⁰ this would indicate that Ashurbanipal died in 627. Although this text presents some chronological problems with regard to the length of the life of the mother of Nabonidus, there is no proof that the error affects the statement about Ashurbanipal's reign.⁹¹ Ashurbanipal had the "House-of-Succession" in Nineveh restored shortly after the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt,⁹²

⁸⁵ Streck, *Asb.* pp. 84-85 x 40-50. See also Thompson, AAA 20 (1933): 87, 95, and pl. 94:121-123.

⁸⁶ Weidner, *AfO* 7 (1931-32): 3-5 ii' 7-25'; according to this text, Kuraš sent his eldest son to Nineveh "to do obeisance" (*ana epēš ardūtu*). See also Thompson, AAA 20 (1933): 86, 95, and pl. 94:115-118.

⁸⁷ Thompson, AAA 20 (1933): 87-88, 96, and pl. 95:129-138 (some may have submitted before the rebellion of 652-648); *ABL* 458; Heimpel, *ZA* 77 (1987): 90. For the possibility that Ḫundaru had aided the rebels in Babylonia and been in contact with Nabû-bēl-šumāti, see p. 135.

⁸⁸ BM 50270 and BM 36514 (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pls. 20-21); *B-K* L.159-160.

⁸⁹ N 4016 (*B-K* J.38).

⁹⁰ Gadd, *AnSt* 8 (1958): 46-47 i 30.

⁹¹ See above, p. 27.

⁹² Editions A and F of Ashurbanipal's annals describe the rebuilding of this structure (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 84-91 x 51-108 and Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 60-63 vi 22-61).

but there is no evidence that he made any specific plans for the succession⁹³ and this may have been one of the reasons for the period of uncertainty in Assyria and Babylonia following his death and that of Kandalānu. According to one synchronistic kinglist fragment, Ashurbanipal was succeeded as ruler of Assyria by Aššur-etil-ilāni, but the lengths of the reigns are not preserved and thus we cannot determine exactly when Aššur-etil-ilāni became king or when he died. By not stating that Aššur-etil-ilāni was "king of Assyria and Babylon" (titles given to Sennacherib and Esarhaddon but not Ashurbanipal), the text implies that someone else was on the throne of Babylonia.⁹⁴

A period of political uncertainty in Babylonia is clearly attested by the fact that texts at Babylon were dated posthumously to the reign of Kandalānu in the eighth month of 627 and on the second day of the eighth month of 626.⁹⁵ The Uruk Kinglist assigns the year following Kandalānu and preceding the first regnal year of Nabopolassar to two kings (jointly)—Sîn-šumu-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun⁹⁶—while the Ptolemaic Canon gives Kandalānu a reign of twenty-two years, thus presumably assigning this year of confusion to him.⁹⁷ The Akītu Chronicle refers to a time "after Kandalānu, in the accession year of Nabopolassar" when there were insurrections in Assyria and Babylonia and the New Year's festival did not take place.⁹⁸ The New Year's festival that did not take place must have been the one at the beginning of 626 since there is no obvious reason for that festival not to have been celebrated at the beginning of 627, when Kandalānu was still on the throne. Thus, this chronicle avoided assigning the period following the death of Kandalānu and preceding the accession of Nabopolassar to any particular person.

A second Babylonian chronicle mentions trouble in the land around this time. It states that Nabopolassar ascended the throne in the eighth month of the first year in which there was no king in the land (626). It also records several military actions between Assyrian and Babylonian troops preceding that event and some of these may have taken place in 627. In brief, the chronicle mentions the following: fighting in the city of Babylon; individuals connected with Sîn-šarra-iškun fleeing to Assyria; a military action at Šaznaku in the month of Ulūlu (VI) in which Assyrian forces entered the town and set fire to the temple; the removal of the gods of Kish to Babylon in the month of Tašritu (VII); an Assyrian army forcing Nabopolassar to retreat from Nippur

⁹³ See also Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 4 n. 4.

⁹⁴ *KAV* 182 iv 7.

⁹⁵ BM 36514 and 40039 (Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pls. 20-21 and 18-19 respectively; *B-K* L.160 and L.163).

⁹⁶ Van Dijk, *Rēš-Heiligtum*, no. 88:4'-5'. The reign of Sîn-šumu-lišir and the beginning of the reign of Sîn-šarra-iškun would then have taken place during the period between the two "after Kandalānu" texts.

⁹⁷ See Grayson in *RLA* 6, p. 101.

⁹⁸ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:24-27.

to Uruk, where the Assyrians and their supporters from Nippur were in turn driven back by Nabopolassar's forces; the departure of an Assyrian army for Babylonia in the month of Ayyaru (II); and the defeat of an Assyrian army by forces coming out from Babylon on the twelfth day of Tašritu (VII). The chronicle then states: "The first year in which there was no king in the land: On the twenty-sixth day of Araḥsamna (VIII), Nabopolassar ascended the throne in Babylon."⁹⁹ If the whole section refers to 626, the order of months is listed out of sequence because the chronicle refers to events in the sixth, seventh, second, and seventh months before the accession of Nabopolassar in the eighth month. However, if we assume that it refers to events in two years, namely 627 and 626, with the change being with the mention of the Assyrian army's departure for Babylonia in Ayyaru (II), contrary to normal practice no line ruling would separate the entries for the two years and the first entry for 626 would not begin with a statement about the year (which is mentioned only with the accession of Nabopolassar). As one scholar has suggested, it is also possible the entry describing Nabopolassar's accession to the throne was the only entry for 626, with the earlier statements referring to 628 and 627 (i.e., assigning the events before the month of Ayyaru to 628 and the remainder to 627); however, the same difficulties arise.¹⁰⁰ The absence of any mention of the death or deposition of Kandalānu would suggest that that event had taken place before any of the entries preserved in the chronicle, with either all the statements dating to 626 or some to 627 and the remainder to 626. The actions described in the chronicle are more closely connected with the following period than the period under consideration and thus will not be discussed in detail here.

Thus, upon the deaths of Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu, a number of persons became locked in a struggle for the thrones of Babylonia and Assyria. The eventual victor in Babylonia was Nabopolassar, who may have been a native of the Sealand, or an official originally in charge of that area. Eusebius records that Nabopolassar had been sent to Babylon as general by an Assyrian king to fight against a force invading from the sea.¹⁰¹ Although the later Greek authors are not always reliable and there is no contemporary evidence to support this, it would not be surprising if Nabopolassar had held some official or tribal position before he began his rebellion. That he had some connection with the Sealand is suggested by a reference to him as king of the Sealand at the end of a ritual text from the Seleucid period and possibly by an historical-literary document in which Nabopolassar says that Marduk

⁹⁹ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 2:1-15.

¹⁰⁰ See Brinkman, *Prelude*, p. 109 n. 546 and note also Zawadzki, *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 48-54 on the problem of determining the precise dates of the events recorded in the chronicle.

¹⁰¹ Schnabel, *Berosos*, p. 271, lines 1-4.

had looked favourably upon him "from the midst of the lower sea."¹⁰² After an initial struggle with Assyrian forces he ascended the throne in Babylon on the twenty-sixth day of Araḥsamna (VIII) in 626, although he had already been given the title "king of Babylon" in an economic text dated just over two months earlier.¹⁰³ Nabopolassar founded the Neo-Babylonian dynasty that was to last for eighty-seven years. The other contenders for power were Aššur-etil-ilāni (son of Ashurbanipal and his immediate successor as king of Assyria),¹⁰⁴ Sîn-šarra-iškun (another son of Ashurbanipal and the one who sat on the throne of Assyria when Nineveh fell in 612), and Sîn-šumu-lišir. As mentioned, Sîn-šumu-lišir and Sîn-šarra-iškun are acknowledged in the Seleucid Uruk Kinglist as rulers of Babylonia in the year preceding the accession of Nabopolassar.¹⁰⁵ Because Ashurbanipal is not attested as king in any contemporary text after 631 scholars have sometimes postulated that he died about that time and was succeeded by Aššur-etil-ilāni or that Aššur-etil-ilāni was co-ruler with Ashurbanipal during the last few years of his reign.¹⁰⁶ Since Aššur-etil-ilāni states that Sîn-šumu-lišir had put him on the throne of Assyria in succession to Ashurbanipal,¹⁰⁷ and since the Uruk Kinglist indicates that Sîn-šumu-lišir was Kandalānu's immediate successor over Babylonia, it seems reasonable to assume that some time would have elapsed between Sîn-šumu-lišir's aiding Aššur-etil-ilāni and his gaining control over part of Babylonia—enough time for Sîn-šumu-lišir to enter into rebellion and

¹⁰² Thureau-Dangin, *Rit.Acc.*, p. 65:47; Gerardi, *A/O* 33 (1986): 35 lines 10-11. The latter text does not mention Nabopolassar by name but Gerardi has reasonably argued that the text must have been composed in his time. Is it possible that Nabopolassar was related to the Bēl-ibni whom Ashurbanipal put in charge of the Sealand during the Šamaš-šum-ukin Revolt? Names were frequently re-used in a family (e.g., an individual often bore the same name as his grandfather) and Bēl-ibni's father and Nabopolassar's son were both named Nabū-kudurri-ušur. Since this name form was fairly common, this suggestion must remain mere speculation. With regard to the supposed "Chaldean" background of Nabopolassar and the Neo-Babylonian kings, see Brinkman's cautionary remarks in *Prelude*, p. 110 n. 551.

¹⁰³ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 2:14-15; Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 93-94 and pl. 21; Kennedy, *JCS* 38 [1986]: 178 no. T.O.1. A later economic text refers to 10-IV of his accession year (see Brinkman, *Prelude*, p. 111 n. 551).

¹⁰⁴ E.g., KAV 182 iv 7' and Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 380-81. In Babylonia, texts dated by his regnal years are only found at Nippur and come from his accession year through to his fourth year (20-VII-accession year to 1-VIII-year 4; see *B-K M.1-12*).

¹⁰⁵ Date formulae of economic texts from Babylonia show that Sîn-šumu-lišir had only an accession year, attested between 12-III and 15-V (see *B-K N.1-7*). Sîn-šarra-iškun apparently succeeded Aššur-etil-ilāni as king of Assyria and died in 612; his earliest Babylonian year date comes from 8-VII of his accession year (Falkner, *A/O* 16 [1952-53]: pl. 16 no. 3; *B-K O.1*).

¹⁰⁶ In particular, it has been suggested that Ashurbanipal abdicated in favour of Aššur-etil-ilāni about 631 and retired to Harran. See van Dijk, *UVB* 18, p. 57; von Soden, *ZA* 58 (1967): 248-49 and 254; Reade, *JCS* 23 (1970-71): 1. An accession date of 627 for Aššur-etil-ilāni does present some problems (e.g., in the possession of Nippur).

¹⁰⁷ Postgate, *Royal Grants*, nos. 13 and 14.

win Nippur, since some texts dated by his accession year there call him "king of Assyria."¹⁰⁸ Several attempts have been made to come to terms with the various, apparently conflicting, pieces of information about the order of events and rulers at this time; however, none has won general acceptance and all seem to fail to account for all the data.¹⁰⁹ To the best of my knowledge, of these four contenders for control of Babylonia only Nabopolassar ever used the title "king of Babylon" or "king of the land of Sumer and Akkad," or was called "king of Babylon" in the date formulae of Babylonian economic texts. In these economic texts, Aššur-etil-ilāni, Sîn-šumu-lišir, and Sîn-šarra-iškun were called either "king of Assyria," "king of (all) lands," "king of the world," or simply "king." The Babylonian scribes obviously wished to avoid stating that any of these three was a true king of Babylonia.

The years following the deaths of Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu were a difficult time for Babylonia and Assyria. As already mentioned, the Akītu Chronicle records that in 626 "there were insurrections in Assyria and Akkad. There was war; fighting continued." The gods Nabū and Marduk could not leave their temples (or their cities) to take part in the New Year's festival.¹¹⁰ It is not the purpose of this study to consider the problem of the successors to Kandalānu and Ashurbanipal since this would involve us with the whole question of the fall of Assyria; thus this matter will not be considered further. One must reckon with the possibility, however, that Ashurbanipal died or relinquished office before 627, that Aššur-etil-ilāni was ruler of Assyria, and effectively Babylonia, before that time, and that the fight for control of Babylonia had begun before Kandalānu's death.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., *BE* 8 141 (*B-K N.4*).

¹⁰⁹ The most recent discussions about the succession to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia at this time are the following: Borger, *WZKM* 55 (1959): 62-76 and *JCS* 19 (1965): 59-78; Oates, *Iraq* 27 (1965): 135-59 and *CAH* 3/2 (in press); Reade, *JCS* 23 (1970-71): 1-9; van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 53-57; von Soden, *WZKM* 53 (1956-57): 316-21 and *ZA* 58 (1967): 241-55; and Zawadzki, *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 23-63.

¹¹⁰ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:24-27.

CHAPTER 10

THE BABYLONIAN STATE

I. The Monarchy

At the head of the Babylonian state was the king, an absolute monarch with political, military, and judicial power. Between the fall of Babylon to Sennacherib in 689 and the accession of Esarhaddon to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia in 681, however, there was no "king of Babylon." Sennacherib ruled the southern kingdom as "king of Assyria" and Babylonia was apparently considered to have been incorporated directly into the Assyrian provincial system. Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's successor, claimed the title "king of Babylon" and attempted to rule the south as a true king of Babylonia. To that end he carried out various building projects in Babylonia and showed favour to that land, and in particular to the residents of its old, important cult centres. However, he was essentially an absentee ruler; it is not clear how often or for how long he visited Babylonia.² In addition, as long as the statue of the god Marduk remained absent, the important New Year's festival could not take place in Babylon, the revered capital of the land.³ During the reign of Ashurbanipal as king of Assyria, the separate kingship of Babylonia was re-established as Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu occupied the throne of Babylon in succession. With the return of Marduk to Babylon in the second month of 668, the New Year's festival resumed. However, neither of these two kings of Babylonia held full authority and power over his realm. In particular, Kandalānu appears to have been a mere puppet ruler.

Thus, it is impossible to present a comprehensive picture of the Babylonian monarchy during the years 689-627 since there were only three kings of Babylonia and since one of these was primarily a king of Assyria and the other two were dependent upon the king of Assyria for their positions.⁴ In theory, the rulership of Babylonia was hereditary and one

could argue that it did pass in a hereditary line from Sennacherib to Esarhaddon, and thence to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.⁵ As was mentioned, however, Sennacherib never claimed to be "king of Babylon." Primarily because of Assyrian actions, no Babylonian ruler had been succeeded on the throne by his son since 734, when Nabonassar had been followed by his son Nabū-nādin-zēri. The rulership of the land was nevertheless comparatively stable during the years 689-627, at least in contrast to preceding decades when the reigns of the kings were of much shorter duration.⁶ Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu each ruled for about twenty years and Esarhaddon for twelve.

The king of Babylonia ruled a realm made up of various groups that had varying life-styles and interests and that rarely acted in concert. As has been mentioned (chapter 4), no single term existed for Babylonia as a whole in common usage; rulers generally assumed the title "king of Babylon" or "viceroys of Babylon," that is, ruler of the most important city and the traditional seat of government for Babylonia. To ensure the safety and prosperity of his country, and to proclaim his own power and generosity, the king of Babylonia carried out various public and religious building projects. The extent and nature of the crown lands and royal revenue during this period are unknown, but we may note that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn confirmed land ownership in the area of Bīt-Īa'raḫū,⁷ granted a prebend in the Ebabbar temple at Sippar,⁸ gave monetary inducements to Elamite kings to gain their support,⁹ and carried out building projects in various cities.¹⁰ There is, however, little evidence that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn had any real military power or authority, except after he rebelled against Assyria in 652, and no evidence that Kandalānu ever held such power. While Ashurbanipal claims to have provided his brother with troops,¹¹ Šamaš-šuma-ukīn had to wait for Ashurbanipal to send an army from Assyria to deal with Urtak's invasion. After Šamaš-šuma-ukīn began his rebellion, he raised military forces from within his realm and on at least one occasion went out to battle along with his

pp. 289-96, holds true for this period also. See also Brinkman in *Palais*, pp. 409-15, where the period of concern here is included within the larger period 1150-625.

⁵ Kandalānu's background is unknown; some have argued that he may have been a member of the royal family (see above).

⁶ Brinkman (*Prelude*, p. 16) points out that between 733 and 689 fourteen different individuals had been accepted as ruler of Babylonia, an average of just 3.2 years per ruler.

⁷ *BBS*: 10 (B-K K.169). Bīt-Īa'raḫū appears to have been located in the area inhabited by the Bīt-Dakkūri since the ruler of that tribe gave testimony about the ownership of the land in question; see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 90.

⁸ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, pp. 302-306 (B-K K.163).

⁹ E.g., Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 76-77 vii 3-11 and pp. 78-79 vii 43-51. See p. 182 n. 261 on the meaning of *ja'iu*.

¹⁰ See p. 108.

¹¹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 28-29 iii 74-75.

¹ At least the few Babylonian economic texts dated by Sennacherib from this period give him the title "king of Assyria" (see Appendix C) and he did not claim this title in his inscriptions from Assyria.

² See pp. 89-90.

³ Or at least, not take place in its full and proper form.

⁴ From what little is known about the Babylonian monarchy during these years, however, it appears that the general picture presented by Brinkman for the years 1158-722 in *PKB*,

troops.¹² Ashurbanipal was keenly interested in events and conditions in the important southern kingdom and Babylonian officials looked to him for final authority. He involved himself in internal Babylonian affairs, issuing orders to officials and acting freely in the realm. In particular, he kept a close eye on Babylonia's relations with Elam and maintained a military protectorship over Babylonia. As a result, neither Šamaš-šuma-ukīn nor Kandalānu was an independent ruler; rather they were vassals of Assyria. Any ruler of Babylonia about this time would have had difficulty keeping tight control over his realm and his people due to their heterogeneous nature. In particular, he would have had to deal with the numerous tribal groups who maintained a semi-independent existence within the land and the old cult centres which were used to receiving special privileges with regard to such matters as taxation, corvée duty, and the administration of justice.

The administration of justice was a fundamental duty of the Babylonian ruler and was often expressed in his royal epithets (e.g., *šar mišari*, "king of justice/just king"), in contrast to Assyria where such epithets do not really appear until the time of the Sargonid kings.¹³ This duty also found expression in the statement by Ashurbanipal that he had appointed his brother to rule Babylonia in order to provide the Babylonians with justice ("in order that the strong should not oppress the weak").¹⁴ *BBS* 10 records how Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was personally involved in settling at least one legal matter. An individual appealed directly to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn to issue a royal decree confirming his ownership of some land which had previously been seized by officials and later returned by Esarhaddon. The king questioned the leader of the Bit-Dakkūri about the matter and then issued the desired decree stating that the land belonged to the individual in question and that no one, whether ruler or official, should ever appropriate that land for official or private use. A document was drawn up stating this and sealed with the royal seal guaranteeing that the land would not be given to someone else at some future date or be reclaimed. It was important that the document receive that seal; Esarhaddon had not given the owner a document sealed with the royal seal and as a result he could not currently bequeath the land to his heirs. The presence of the royal seal was thus important to help ensure that the proper ownership of the property was not questioned in the future. When Šamaš-

¹² *ABL* 326 rev. 1'-2' reads "... after Šamaš-šuma-ukīn went out [to] Kār-Nergal against the camp of the king, my lord." Although troops are not mentioned explicitly, he would not have gone against the Assyrian camp alone. There is no evidence that the king of Babylonia fought in person or that battle took place, although a rebel is said to have killed a supporter of Ashurbanipal (lines 3'-5'). The important point is that he was willing to put his personal safety in jeopardy by leaving the fortified towns. For the possibility that he may have been wounded in battle, see p. 148.

¹³ See Seux, *Épithètes*, pp. 316-17 and Postgate in *Palais*, p. 417.

¹⁴ E.g., Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 240-41 no. 5:11-12.

šuma-ukīn had granted a prebend in the temple of the god Šamaš at Sippar, the document had also received the royal seal.¹⁵ Otherwise there is no direct evidence of the king's personal intervention in legal matters at this time, although individuals were often sent to Ashurbanipal to be questioned, and perhaps tried, about various (usually political) matters.

While the execution of justice was basically the responsibility of local officials and local assemblies (see below), it appears that the citizens of the old, important cult centres, who had been granted special privileges by the crown, had the right to have their cases tried by the king. J.N. Postgate has argued that the phrase appearing in several letters "to speak 'the word of the king'" implied an appeal directly to the king of Assyria, bypassing local officials, and that this procedure was intended to protect individuals from oppression by the local administration.¹⁶ Babylonian letters from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal refer to persons appealing thus to the Assyrian king on at least three occasions. The chief administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila, Šuma-iddin, sent four individuals to Esarhaddon "because they had spoken 'the word of the king.'" When a prisoner escaped and "spoke 'the word of the king' in the assembly of the people," local officials had no option but to send him to the king to be questioned. Nabū-balāssu-iqbī, however, once complained to Ashurbanipal that when he had spoken "the word of the king," his appeal had been ignored and he had been deprived of his property.¹⁷ Officials, in their turn, often complained to the king about unjust treatment they had received at the hands of other officials, obviously hoping that the king would intervene on their behalf. The king also empowered officials to sort out legal problems. The author of *ABL* 716 reports how Ashurbanipal had sent the *sukkallu* and the *sartennu* (vizier and chief judge) to provide justice in the land.¹⁸

II. The Provincial Administration

The provincial administrative system of Babylonia during the years 689-627 has too much in common with that found before and after this time to justify a separate study of the administration of these particular years; furthermore, the insufficiency of reliable data would make any such

¹⁵ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 305 rev. 7-8 (*B-K* K.163). On the royal seal, see Brinkman, *RA* 61 (1967): 72-73; Kienast, *Reiner Festschrift*, pp. 167-74; and Brinkman and Dalley, *ZA* 78 (1988): 92.

¹⁶ Postgate in *Palais*, pp. 417-26. Note also Postgate, *RA* 74 (1980): 180-82 and Garelli in *Finet Festschrift*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁷ Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 8-13 lines 26-31; *ABL* 344 rev. 1-10 and 716:9-13.

¹⁸ *dīnu kitti* [u] *mišaru ina māiyya dīnā*, rev. 12-13. Note that it was the Assyrian king who did this, showing again Ashurbanipal's involvement in Babylonian affairs.

systematic discussion difficult.¹⁹ While the letters of the Kuyunjik collection contain a great deal of data about the actions of various officials within Babylonia, much of it is unilluminating or ambiguous. In particular, it is usually impossible to ascertain the exact official position of an individual who wrote a letter, or was mentioned in one. Even if a particular individual is known to have held a specific post at one point in time, it cannot simply be assumed that he held that post when he wrote, or was mentioned in, a particular letter. Although it seems reasonable that only high officials and important individuals would write directly to the king, there may well have been exceptions. In any case, officials at more than one level in the administrative structure could write to the king from the same province at the same time.²⁰ There is evidence to suggest that a particular type of introductory blessing may well have been used exclusively by the governors of Uruk;²¹ however, this cannot be proven conclusively as yet, and no similar formula has been shown for any other city (or province).

For earlier periods, kudurrus have provided a wealth of data for the study of the provincial administration. Unfortunately, only two imperfectly preserved kudurrus are attested for this period and the many economic texts available provide only a limited amount of information on the actions and duties of officials. However, it was common practice for a governor, or a *šatammu* official (administrative head of a temple), or both, to be present at the conclusion of certain business transactions, and to be mentioned as such in the documents recording these transactions. This practice makes it possible to determine the names of a number of the people who held important positions in Babylonia at this time. A list of these officials is presented in Appendix B.

During this period of Assyrian domination and control, the native Babylonian provincial administration may have been influenced and changed by Assyrian practices.²² In general, however, the Assyrians tended to leave the internal administrative structure of a vassal state intact.²³ The fact that officials could report to, and rely upon, the Assyrian king while there was a king of Babylonia presents some problems. It is difficult to be certain what authority the king of Babylonia actually held over these officials. While all

¹⁹ A thorough study of Babylonian administration in the first millennium is much needed.

²⁰ Nabû-ušabši and Iti-Marduk-balātu (presumably the governor and *šatammu* of Uruk respectively) wrote to the king about what may be the same matter (ABL 268 and 831; see p. 127 n. 138).

²¹ See Brinkman, *Or*, NS 46 (1977): 312 and Frame in *Cuneiform Archives*, pp. 261-65.

²² The practice of dating by eponyms was used at Babylon on at least three occasions (see Appendix C) and Šamaš-šuma-ukin's choice of court officials may have been influenced by Assyrian practices (see below).

²³ For a survey of Assyrian administrative practices, see Pežárková, *ArOr* 55 (1987): 162-75.

authority and pretense of authority rested in Assyria during the later years of Sennacherib (689-681) and the reign of Esarhaddon (681-669), the lack of a strong central government at Babylon may have encouraged the various provincial governors to become more "independent," particularly in the south. It was probably during the years 689-681, when there was not even the pretense of a separate Babylonian kingship, that texts at Ur were dated by the years of office of its governor and that the ruler of the Bit-Dakkūri seized land belonging to citizens of Babylon and Borsippa.²⁴

Most of our information revolves around the important cities of the land. With their long and rich histories, they had a leading role in the cultural, intellectual, and economic life of the country. Here were the seats of the provincial governors, with their administrative staffs; here were the temples where the major religious needs and duties of the community were looked after; and here were found the various scholars and scribal schools. The wealth of the country was concentrated in the hands of the royal family, the temples, and a few prominent families, who were found in these cities.²⁵ Some of them, primarily Babylon, Borsippa, Nippur, and Sippar, had even received special status from the crown, which relieved the citizens of at least some duties and taxes and gave them privileges with regard to legal matters.²⁶

Administrative Districts

The arrangement of administrative districts within Babylonia follows the pattern discerned by Brinkman for the years 1158-722.²⁷ Babylonia was divided into a number of administrative units, each called a *piḫatu* (logogram: NAM).²⁸ These units, which we call provinces, were independent of each other and were directly under the jurisdiction of the king. In general, the provinces appear to have been quite limited in size, formed by one major (or minor) settlement and its immediately surrounding territory and to have been named after that settlement (e.g., Uruk). Only the governor of Ur, who also controlled Eridu, is known to have governed a second important settlement.²⁹

²⁴ See Appendix C and Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 52 §27 episode 12.

²⁵ Tribal leaders could also control great wealth, being able to mobilize the resources of their tribes.

²⁶ See above, chapter 4.

²⁷ Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 296-97.

²⁸ On the writing of the term *piḫatu*, see Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 296 n. 1940 and *AHW*, p. 862 sub voce *piḫātu(m)* 1.

²⁹ *UET* 1 168:5-6, 170: 6-7, and 8 102:8-9. The fact that Eridu is rarely mentioned in texts from this time could indicate that it was no longer an important or sizeable town, located as it was in an isolated spot on the desert fringe. It should be noted, however, that the southern mound of Eridu covered 22 hectares in the Neo-Babylonian through Seleucid periods; at the same time Ur was 40 hectares in size. See H.T. Wright in Adams, *Hearland of Cities*, pp. 334, 338 no. 10, and 342-43 no. 108.

The one significant exception to this arrangement is the province of the Sealand. Located around the swamp-marsh region in southernmost Babylonia, it covered a wide area and is not known to have contained any major centre at this time.³⁰ The following provinces are attested by being expressly called provinces (nos. 1-3 and 7-10) or by having a *bēl pīḫati* or (*ša*) *pīḫati* "provincial governor" (nos. 1 and 4-6).³¹

1. Babylon³²
2. Bīt-Raḥ'e³³
3. Bīt-Uškuru³⁴
4. Dēr³⁵
5. Dūr-Šarrukku³⁶
6. Laḫīru³⁷
7. Marad³⁸

³⁰ A number of the cities and towns attributed by Sennacherib to the Bīt-Yakīn tribe, who appear to have lived in the Sealand (see chapter 4), either do not figure prominently in this period or do not actually appear to have been controlled by that tribe. It is not impossible, however, that others were under the authority of the governor of the Sealand.

³¹ Dēr, Laḫīru, and possibly Dūr-Šarrukku had actually been annexed to Assyria at this time (see below). Note also the reference to a *bēl pīḫati* of the city of Šamaš-nāšir in *ABL* 32:11-12 (*LAS*, no. 29) which may have lain in the Diyala region (see *LAS* 2, p. 33), possibly in the area annexed to Assyria.

³² E.g., *VAS* 5 4:2 (*B-K* L.122). See Appendix B sub 2a and note the *šākin tēmi* sub 2b.

³³ *AnOr* 9 4 v 3 and 13, *pi-ḫat É-ra-aḫ'-e* (*B-K* L.23), possibly located in the Bīt-Dakkūri area (San Nicolò, *BR* 8/7, p. 39 and Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 101).

³⁴ *BM* 54193:6, *pi-ḫat É-uš-ku-ru* (*B-K* K.148). Since this text was composed at Babylon, Bīt-Uškuru may have been located near that city.

³⁵ *ABL* 140:7 and rev. 6, possibly dating to the reign of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal (Waterman, *RCAE* 3, p. 62). See also pp. 222-24 and Appendix B sub 5a.

³⁶ *ABL* 339:7 (*LAS*, no. 293). See also Appendix B sub 7a. The town (and province) was also called Sippar-Aruru (*2 R* 50:64a and see Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 55-56 n. 106). The exact location of Dūr-Šarrukku is unclear but various pieces of evidence suggest that it was situated on or near the Diyala, likely near Opis or Sippar. See Unger in *RLA* 2, p. 249; *LAS* 2, p. 299; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 99; Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 124; and Black, *NAPR* 1 (1987): 19. For a location near Opis (Upī), note that a kudurrū which was found at Tulūl al-Mugēlī' (Mujailī'āt) and recently published by al-Adami (*Sumer* 38 [1982]: 121-33) also connects the Babylonian city with Opis; the kudurrū was dated at Upī (ii 18) and deals with land located in the *uḡāru* of Dūr-Šarrukku (i 2). Al-Adami suggests that Dūr-Šarrukku (Dūr-sharrukin) is a later name for the city of Akkad (*ibid.*, pp. 121-22), but this seems unlikely since both names appear in texts of the period (e.g., in letters of Mār-Ištar). Dūr-Šarrukku has been identified with Tell ed-Dēr (see de Meyer *apud* Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 209), but that site seems to be Sippar-Anunitu (see Charpin, *RA* 82 [1988]: 13-32).

³⁷ E.g. *ABL* 1244:9'. See also Appendix B sub 9a. Laḫīru is attested as a city, a land, and a people. The city may have been located in the region where the Diyala River cuts through the Jebel Ḥamrīn (see Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 178 n. 1093); Kessler tentatively suggests Eski Kifri (*TAVO* map B IV 10). See also Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 208.

³⁸ *FLP* 1314:2 (*B-K* L.39). Note also the references to a governor (*šākin tēmi*) of Marad in *ABL* 238:9 (see Appendix B sub 10a) and 853:13 (GN mostly restored). For the possible identification of modern Wannat as-Sa'dūn with Marad, see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 220.

8. (URU) Qutayanu³⁹
9. Sippar⁴⁰
10. Uruk⁴¹

In addition, the following places are known to have had a governor (*šākin tēmi*, *šandabakku*, *šaknu*, *šakin māti*, or *šakkanakku*).⁴²

11. (KUR) Akkad⁴³
12. Borsippa⁴⁴
13. Cutha⁴⁵
14. Dilbar⁴⁶
15. Ḥaṭallu⁴⁷
16. (KUR) Kaldū⁴⁸
17. Nippur⁴⁹
18. Sealand⁵⁰
19. Ur⁵¹

³⁹ Budge, *PSBA* 10 (1887-88): pl. 4:2 (facing p. 148; *B-K* K.119). Since the text was dated at Babylon, this province may have been situated in the general area of that city. Zadok (*RGTC* 8, p. 256 sub Qutajin) thinks the town may have been part of Bīt-Dakkūri.

⁴⁰ Sachs, *Astronomical Diaries*, no. -651 iv 18' (see Appendix D).

⁴¹ *TCL* 12 8:2 and *MMA* 86.11.217:2 (*B-K* K.149 and L.103). See also Appendix B sub 15a for several governors (bearing the title *šākin tēmi*) of this province.

⁴² For the uses of these terms, see below.

⁴³ See Appendix B sub 1a. Presumably this refers to the region around Babylon since Šamaš-danninanni was called both *šaknu* (or *šakin māti*) of Akkad and (*ša*) *pīḫati* of Babylon.

⁴⁴ See Appendix B sub 3a (title *šākin tēmi*).

⁴⁵ See Appendix B sub 4a (title *šākin tēmi*).

⁴⁶ See Appendix B sub 6a (title *šākin tēmi*).

⁴⁷ Oppert, *RA* 1 (1886): 3:3 (*B-K* L.16); GN written URU ḥa?-tal-la (collated). Since the text was composed at Sippar, this locality may have been located near that city (see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 425). Or should this place be identified with Ḥaṭallū, a locality which Zadok describes as a suburb of Bīt-Zabīni in the region of Nippur (*ibid.*, p. 157)? The Aramean tribe LŪ ḥaṭallu (*ibid.*, p. 157) could also be connected to this site, but this remains unproven. It is possible that *šaknu* does not refer to a governor here but rather to a lower official since it could be used to describe both governors and other (lower) officials.

⁴⁸ *BBS* 10 rev. 4-5 (and cf. rev. 13, partially restored; *B-K* K.169). The term *šaknu* (LŪ *šā-kan*) of Kaldū (Chaldea) may refer here to a lower official, and not to a governor. The inscription refers to a *šaknu* and a *šāpiru* of Kaldū illegally seizing land, to the return of the land to its legitimate owner by Esarhaddon, and to the ruler of the Bīt-Dakkūri giving testimony about the matter. It is possible that the seizure of the land should be connected with the actions of Šamaš-ibni and that the two unnamed officials were actually members of his tribe, the Bīt-Dakkūri, or even that the *šaknu* was Šamaš-ibni himself. The land in question, and thus the "province" of Kaldū (if one did exist), may have been located in the northern half of Babylonia where the Bīt-Dakkūri were concentrated. There may be a connection between the land of Kaldū in this text and the province of the city Kaldū mentioned in *OECT* 10 400:2 (*B-K* N.3, time of Sīn-šumu-lišir).

⁴⁹ See Appendix B sub 11a (title *šandabakku*).

⁵⁰ See Appendix B sub 12a (title *šaknu*).

⁵¹ See Appendix B sub 14a (titles *šaknu* and *šakkanakku*).

Undoubtedly there were other provinces about which we have no information. Kish-Ḫursagkalama, for instance, was likely the centre of a province; texts were dated at Kish and Ḫursagkalama during these years (see Appendix A) and Ḫursagkalama is known to have had a *qīpu* official.⁵² Although Larsa is practically unattested at this time,⁵³ it may also have been the centre of a province, and Bīt-Dakkūri is referred to as a province in the time of Nabopolassar.⁵⁴ Bīt-Ada, Bīt-Piri'-Amurrū, Bīt-Sîn-māgir, Bīt-Sîn-šeme, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Ḫalman, Ḫudadu, Isin, and Namar are attested as provinces at some point between 1158 and 722; however, although some of these places are still mentioned in texts, none of them is attested as a province at this time.⁵⁵ In view of the almost total obscurity of some of the places listed above, we may wonder if all provinces had the same status. For example, did the governor of Bīt-Raḫ'e have the same powers over his province as did the governor of Uruk?⁵⁶

Two or three of the provinces listed above now formed parts of Assyria and thus on strict grounds should perhaps not be mentioned here. Dēr and Laḫīru had been incorporated directly into Assyria, annexed in the second half of the eighth century;⁵⁷ and Dūr-Šarrukku also may have been annexed by Assyria. They have, however, been included in the list because of their close ties to Babylonia, particularly those of Dēr and Dūr-Šarrukku, the furthest from Assyria proper. Their incorporation within Assyria is indicated by the appearance of governors of these cities in the canon of Assyrian eponym officials during the period of concern here—Der: 670; Dūr-Šarrukku: 672 and 664 (as well as in the post-canonical period); and Laḫīru: 673.⁵⁸ The only governor of what is clearly a Babylonian province to appear as an eponym in Assyrian texts was Šamaš-danninanni (the governor of Babylon/Akkad) but he appears c. 643, in the post-canonical period.⁵⁹ The

⁵² ABL 1214 rev. 6-8 (LAS, no. 291); the passage refers to *qīpu*-officials of the temples of Sippar, Cutha, Ḫursagkalama, and Dilbat.

⁵³ Esarhaddon returned the statue of its god Šamaš (Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 84 §53 rev. 43-44) and the city is mentioned in ABL 1293+CT 54 61 rev. 2-6 (see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 176-77 no. 100). Dietrich suggests a date during the time of the revolt of 652-648 for the latter source (*ibid.*, p. 88).

⁵⁴ *AnOr* 9 4 i 2.

⁵⁵ Some of these areas would likely have been annexed to Assyria (e.g., Ḫalman and Namar). See Brinkman, *JESHO* 6 (1963): 234 for provinces attested under the Second Dynasty of Isin and PKB, p. 297 (esp. n. 1941) for the period 1158-722.

⁵⁶ Brinkman points out that just as there were different types of *šaknu* (see below) there may also have been different levels of *bēl piḫati* (private communication).

⁵⁷ See Brinkman in *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 13 n. 42 and PKB, p. 178 n. 1093.

⁵⁸ See Appendix B sub 5a, 7a, and 9a; Falkner, *Afo* 17 (1954-56): 119 n. 58; Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, p. 63; and Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 132:26'-27'.

⁵⁹ The fact that economic texts from Babylon were dated by the reign of Kandalānu indicates that Babylon had not been annexed to Assyria.

eponyms for the years 672 and 664 are usually understood to have been the governors of the Assyrian city of Khorsabad (Dūr-Šarrukīn), but the names of the Assyrian and the Babylonian cities can be written the same way⁶⁰ and the Babylonian city is well attested in the texts of this period. Thus, even though it is clear that Khorsabad was not totally abandoned after the death of Sargon II, it is possible that the city (and province) mentioned in the eponym dates was actually the Babylonian city of Dūr-Šarrukku and not the Assyrian one of Khorsabad?⁶¹ If the Babylonian city is meant, this would mean that three of the four Assyrian eponym officials between 673 and 670 came from provinces along the northeastern border of Babylonia, and this may be no accident.⁶² No texts dated by the reigns of Babylonian kings are known from Dēr, Dūr-Šarrukku, or Laḫīru during the years 689-627; however, Dēr has not been excavated and the exact locations of the other two cities have not yet been determined. Dēr, the most important city, gave the Assyrians a strategically located base for dealing with Elam, lying across the best route between Elam and the Mesopotamian plain; the other two would have been useful for maintaining control of the route to Dēr. The Assyrians were clearly interested in maintaining authority over this region which was located at the juncture of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam.

H. Lewy has suggested that Laḫīru served as the administrative centre of Babylonia during the reign of Esarhaddon, first administered by Zakūtu, the king's mother, and later by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the crown prince of Babylon.⁶³ The two certainly had some connections with Laḫīru and their servants are sometimes attested there, but, as described earlier, there is really no evidence that Zakūtu ever had any authority over Babylonia or that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn lived in Laḫīru for any period of time. ABL 1214 (LAS, no. 291), a letter of Mār-Ištar possibly dating to 669,⁶⁴ states that a personal attendant (*qurbūtu*), presumably of the king, had come with a deputy (*šani*, LÚ.2-i) from Laḫīru, dismissed various temple officials in Sippar, Cutha, Ḫursagkalama, and Dilbat, and appointed new ones. This could suggest that Laḫīru had some authority over at least northern Babylonia at that time,⁶⁵ but one should note that the two individuals acted only after announcing a royal

⁶⁰ See Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 112-14 and Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 124. The reading Dūr-Šarrukku is used for the Babylonian city in this study in order to distinguish it from the Assyrian one.

⁶¹ The identification of the eponym of 672 as the governor of the Babylonian city is also suggested by Parpola (LAS 2, p. 300 sub no. 293 line 7'; read 672 for 673) and Watanabe (*Vereidigung*, p. 209, commentary to line 665). Three economic texts dated by eponyms from the post-canonical period were found at Khorsabad (see Brinkman, *Prelude*, p. 54 n. 254) and these thus attest to continued habitation at the site.

⁶² The eponym in the remaining year (671) was the chief judge (*sartennu*).

⁶³ *JNES* 11 (1952): 272-77.

⁶⁴ For the date, see Parpola in LAS 2, pp. 291-94.

⁶⁵ As recently argued by Parpola in LAS 2, p. 264.

order, that the official from Laḫīru is mentioned after the *qurbūtu*-attendant, and that the latter was probably a royal official sent from Assyria with the order. *ABL* 746 (*LAS*, no. 275)⁶⁶ states that the deputy of the chief steward of Laḫīru had been ordered to send offerings to the goddess (Ištar) of the city of Akkad. This cannot be used as proof that the city of Akkad was under the jurisdiction of Laḫīru; it may simply indicate that the king was having the neighbouring provinces provide offerings for the goddess of the newly restored city. The idea that Laḫīru had a special place in the administration of Babylonia during the reign of Esarhaddon remains to be proven.

During the revolt of 652-648, the governor of Laḫīru acted in co-ordination with the governors of the Assyrian provinces of Arrapha and Zamū in order to aid Uruk.⁶⁷ However, Laḫīru submitted to Ashurbanipal during his first campaign against Humban-ḫaltaš III, suggesting that the city had declared its independence of Assyria, presumably in connection with the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt.⁶⁸ Dūr-Šarrukku and Laḫīru are mentioned together on several occasions and people from Laḫīru appear in various Assyrian economic documents.⁶⁹ Because of their location on the northeastern frontier of Babylonia, however, Dēr, Dūr-Šarrukku, and Laḫīru are mentioned frequently in connection with Babylonia. For example, Mār-Ištar's letters report on these cities as well as on other Babylonian ones,⁷⁰ Laḫīru was obliged to provide offerings for the Lady-of-Akkad,⁷¹ and Esarhaddon includes Dēr and Dūr-Šarrukku (as Sippar-Aruru) in a list of Babylonian cities to whose gods he had shown favour.⁷²

Except for the Sealand, Ur, and Uruk, all the provinces are definitely or most likely in central or northern Babylonia. This supports the evidence from

⁶⁶ Dated by Parpola to late 670 (*LAS* 2, pp. 262-63).

⁶⁷ *ABL* 543, 1108, and 1244.

⁶⁸ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 42-43 iv 116-123 and note *ABL* 280:19-rev. 4. It is perhaps more likely, however, that Laḫīru does not refer here to the city or province by that name, but rather to the tribe or to a separate town which was connected with that tribe and located near Dēr (see p. 204).

⁶⁹ See for example *ABL* 558, *CT* 54 557, and various references cited in Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 222-23. Note that the situation at Dūr-Šarrukku is contrasted with that at Nineveh, Arbela, and (presumably) Assur in *ABL* 339 (*LAS*, no. 293), though these particular cities may be mentioned simply because the king would have been more fully aware of the circumstances there. The mention of the gods Šimalū'a and Humḫum in connection with Dūr-Šarrukku (lines 7-11) indicates that the Babylonian city, not Khorsabad, is meant. With regard to the two deities, see Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 300.

⁷⁰ *ABL* 339, 476, 746, 1014, and 1214 (*LAS*, nos. 293, 277, 275, 292, and 291 respectively).

⁷¹ *ABL* 746 (*LAS*, no. 275).

⁷² Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 74 §47:16-25 and p. 84 §53 rev. 40-44. Note also the mention of both Dēr and Dūr-Šarrukku in Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iii 44-46; Esarhaddon was presumably returning to these two cities statues of gods which had been previously carried off to Assyria.

the period 1158-722 that the bulk of the Babylonian population was concentrated in the central and northern parts of the country.⁷³ Possibly Ur and Uruk were maintained in part as bastions of settled life in the south, intended to keep an eye on, and facilitate control over, the tribal groups who occupied the surrounding area of swamp-marsh.

Governors

Various titles are used by the Babylonian and Assyrian sources to refer to the head of a Babylonian province and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether any real difference in function or authority is indicated by the different terms. The normal title used by governors of Babylonian provinces at this time was *šakin tēmi*, (LÚ).GAR.KU, freely translated "one who gives orders."⁷⁴ *Šaknu*, the term generally used for "governor" in Babylonia until around the middle of the ninth century,⁷⁵ could be used both here and, more commonly, in Assyria. In neither place, however, did it refer exclusively to governors.⁷⁶ As in earlier periods, and presumably as a reflection of the traditional religious importance of the city, the governor of Nippur bore the special title *šandabakku*, (LÚ).GÚ.EN.NA.⁷⁷ There is no evidence, however, that he had any more authority or power than his fellow governors and we may note that in a letter to the people of Nippur the Assyrian king refers to "the *šandabakku* who is your *šaknu*."⁷⁸ At Ur, where one family held the post of governor for an extended period of time, various titles were used. Ningal-iddin chose to be called *šaknu* of Ur.⁷⁹ Of the three sons who

⁷³ Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 297.

⁷⁴ For the earlier use of the term, see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 307-309.

⁷⁵ Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 297.

⁷⁶ See Postgate, *AnSt* 30 (1980): 69-72 and *CAD* 17/1 (Š), pp. 180-92.

⁷⁷ Despite Brinkman's doubts on the correct reading of the logogram in *Prelude*, p. 17 n. 68, the reading *šandabakku* is certain. See the two lists of officials from Nippur published by S. Cole which give *ša-an-da-bak-ku* as the pronunciation for LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA (*JAC* 1 [1986]: 129-31 and 140 12 N 129:4 and 12 N 148:4). In addition, Borger has pointed out to me that Nabû-šuma-ēreš who is called LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA in Streck, *Asb.*, p. 28 iii 63 is given the title *šandabakku* (written syllabically) in Bauer, *Asb.*, p. 93 K. 4530:15 and p. 101 80-7-19,102 rev. 14 (both passages heavily restored; title written [...]-an-da-bak-ku and [...]-da-bak-ku respectively).

⁷⁸ The full passage reads *hi-it-tu 'ša LÚ' ša-an-da-bak-ki ša LÚ šak-ni-ku-nu šu-u à ša-ni-ia'-nu ša LÚ ša IGI É.GAL ša la ú-še?!-rib-ak-ku-nu-ši i-na pa-ni-ia*, "It is the fault (firstly) of the *šandabakku* who is your *šaknu* and secondly of the palace overseer who did not allow you to enter into my presence" (*ABL* 287 rev. 1-7). *CAD* 17/1 (Š), pp. 188 and 373 take the section down to *šū* to mean "it is the fault of the *šandabakku* and your *šaknu*," but this would require an *u* ("and") to be understood after *šandabakki* and would take *šū* to be the subject of *hiṭtu* rather than of *šaknikunu*. If *šū* referred to *hiṭtu* it should be at the end of the whole passage.

⁷⁹ It is sometimes difficult to determine if the title *šaknu* or *šakin māti* is meant in Akkadian texts, i.e., if the writing (LÚ) GAR.KUR should be read syllabically (LÚ) *ša-kin*

in turn succeeded him in office, *Sin-balāssu-iqbi* and *Sin-šarra-ušur*, preferred the more grandiose term *šakkanakku*, (LÚ).GIR.NÍTA,⁸⁰ while *Sin-tabni-ušur*, like his father, preferred *šaknu*.⁸¹ Possibly the use of these titles at Ur reflects greater authority or independence of the governors of this city. Because of Ur's somewhat isolated position in an area dominated by tribal groups, its governors may have needed, or found it easy to acquire extra authority and power to maintain their position and that of Assyria. Ningal-iddin of Ur is the only governor known to have dated texts by the years of his own tenure in office. *Sin-balāssu-iqbi* could lay claim to govern Eridu and the Gurasimmu tribe as well as Ur,⁸² and apparently snubbed his legitimate king (*Šamaš-šuma-ukin*) in his building inscriptions.⁸³ The use of *šaknu* by Ningal-iddin and *Sin-tabni-ušur*, however, may reflect nothing more than a conservative desire to retain the traditional title for governor at this old religious centre. The governor of the Sealand also used this title.⁸⁴

The title *bēl pīḫati*, (LÚ).EN.NAM ("lord of a province"), could also be used to refer to the head of a province.⁸⁵ This title is attested in Babylonia already in the Old Babylonia period, but only for low level officials; it was not used for governors until the eighth century.⁸⁶ The title was often reserved for Assyrian officials or for use in "Assyrian" contexts, such as for Babylonian officials in eponym dates. There does not seem to be any definable difference in function and authority between the *bēl pīḫati* and the *šākin tēmi*, and it may well be that the two terms could actually refer to the same office, just as appears to be the case with *šaknu* and (*bēl*) *pīḫati* in Assyria.⁸⁷ There is no evidence of a locality having both a *šākin tēmi* and a *bēl pīḫati* at the same time; and only Babylon is known to have had both during the years 689-627. *Šamaš-danninanni* was called both (*ša*) *pīḫati* of

or be taken as a logogram to stand for *šākin māti* or *šaknu*. This is particularly true when the title is followed by a toponym which is normally preceded by KUR (e.g., the Sealand and Akkad). See in particular Borger, *AfO* 23 (1970): 9-10; Postgate, *AnSt* 30 (1980): 69-70; Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 300; and CAD 17/1 (S), p. 191.

⁸⁰ A title often borne by kings (see Seux, *Épithètes*, pp. 276-80).

⁸¹ See Appendix A sub 14a.

⁸² UET 8 102:6-9.

⁸³ At least *Sin-balāssu-iqbi* dedicated some of his building projects for the life of Ashurbanipal while never mentioning *Šamaš-šuma-ukin*.

⁸⁴ See Appendix B sub 12a. Note also CT 54 545:6' (see above, p. 180).

⁸⁵ See for example Appendix B sub 2a. The Babylonian form *bēl pīḫati*, not the Assyrian form *bēl pāḫiti/pāḫati/pāḫiti* (see Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 296 n. 1940 and Postgate, *AnSt* 30 (1980): 69 on these forms), is used in this study. For a possible reading *bēl pāḫati/pāḫaš*, see Cole, *JAC* 1 (1986): 129-36, 12 N 129:5, 12 N 148:5, and 12 N 163:1.

⁸⁶ See Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 303-304.

⁸⁷ Postgate (*AnSt* 30 (1980): 70) can see no difference in Assyria between the post of *šaknu* of a province and that of (*bēl*) *pāḫiti*. The same individual could be called both *šaknu* and *bēl pāḫiti* in Assyrian texts (e.g., Grayson, *AfO* 20 [1963]: 96:126 and Postgate, *Iraq* 32 [1970]: 148 no. 14 rev. 5'-6').

Babylon and the *šaknu* (or *šākin māti*) of Akkad in post-canonical eponym dates.⁸⁸ While the use of different localities could indicate that he held two distinct offices and that he held authority over more than just the city of Babylon and its immediately surrounding region, he may simply have been given the wider title by Assyrian scribes because he was governor of the most important city in the region of Akkad. Quite likely the two titles refer to the same position, the governorship of the province of Babylon.

The governor was the highest official in his province. He was appointed and dismissed by the king and was responsible only to him.⁸⁹ Governors, as well as other officials, were tied to the king by oaths of loyalty (*adē-agreements*).⁹⁰ In particular, they promised not to support any rebellion against the king, to report any talk of rebellion to the king, and to arrest any individuals attempting to foment rebellion. These oaths did not have to be taken in the presence of the king but rather could be administered by other officials who were acting upon instruction from the king. Because he had been absent when oaths were taken at Babylon, Kabtiya went to the palace overseer and took the oath at Nippur and Uruk. These oaths were not restricted to officials; Kabtiya mentioned that it might be requested that not only he but also his soldiers, and their sons and wives, should take oaths of loyalty.⁹¹ On some, if not all, occasions, individuals swore their allegiance in the presence of the gods (i.e., statues of gods) and they may have performed some ritual or symbolic act.⁹² To break an oath of allegiance was a sin against the gods as well as man.⁹³ The governor and other officials were bound by their oaths to keep the king informed about conditions and events both in their own province and elsewhere. They could say: "It is written [in] the *adē-agreement*: 'Write (and tell) me (the Assyrian king) whatever you see and hear!'"⁹⁴ The governor reported to the king on his own actions and those of other officials, individuals, and tribal groups, conditions in neighbouring

⁸⁸ See Appendix B sub 1a and 2a-b. One legal text (Pinches, *AfO* 13 [1939-41]: pls. 3-4; B-K S.7) is dated at Babylon in the eponymy of a *šākin tēmi* of Babylon and a *bēl pīḫati* of an unspecified locality appears as a witness, but it is not clear that the latter was the *bēl pīḫati* of Babylon. There was a *šākin tēmi* of Babylon in 654 and a *bēl pīḫati* of Babylon sometime likely c. 656-653 (see Appendix B sub 2), but it is possible that their tenures in office did not overlap.

⁸⁹ While *Šamaš-šuma-ukin* was crown prince of Babylonia he held some authority over Babylonia and persons there reported to him (Parpola, *Iraq* 34 [1972]: 21-34 and pl. 19).

⁹⁰ On the term *adē*, see p. 11 n. 27.

⁹¹ ABL 202; for a translation, see Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 91.

⁹² E.g., ABL 202 rev. 4-7; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 43 §27 episode 2:50-51. See Watanabe, *Vereidigung*, p. 26.

⁹³ E.g., Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 12-13 i 132-133.

⁹⁴ ABL 831 rev. 1'-5' and compare for example 472:1-5. One letter (Parpola, *Iraq* 34 [1972]: 21-34 and pl. 19:9-12) states that Esarhaddon had made an *adē-agreement* with certain Babylonians which required them to report whatever they heard to *Šamaš-šuma-ukin*. See also Malbran-Labat, *Armée*, pp. 31-57.

countries (especially Elam), building programmes, and even what seem to us to be trivial matters. The king earnestly desired these reports in order to be prepared for possible trouble and officials were complimented for keeping the king informed. Ashurbanipal wrote to Bēl-ibni and praised him, saying: "With regard to what you wrote to me concerning the Puqūdu who live along the canal, just as a man who loves the house of his masters informs his masters whatever he sees and hears, in the same way it is good that you wrote and informed me (about this)."⁹⁵ Messages from the king had to be acted upon without delay if one wished to avoid angering him. Kudurru was forced to return to Uruk while already on the way to visit the king when it was reported to him that a messenger had arrived in Uruk with a letter from the king,⁹⁶ and it was a matter of concern if royal messengers and their messages were delayed in reaching their destinations.⁹⁷ The fact that Babylonian officials continued to report to the king of Assyria after Šamaš-šuma-ukīn became king, whether in accordance with Esarhaddon's plans or not, was undoubtedly one of the causes of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt. While the governor was the highest official in his province, he could not do as he pleased because he knew that other officials and individuals were watching him and reporting on his activities to the king.⁹⁸

Where the ancestry can be traced, the holders of the two highest offices in a city or province—governor and *šatammu*—often prove to have been related to previous holders of those offices. Thus certain families in a city or province, presumably the leading families, constituted a "ruling class" which tended to provide the chief officials. This is most clearly demonstrable at Borsippa, where the families Arkāt-ilī-damqā, Iliya, and Nūr-Papsukkal appear to have controlled these offices.⁹⁹ At Ur, the governorship was in effect a hereditary position during this time in that Ningal-iddin was succeeded as governor by three of his sons, and no other persons are known to have held that post during these years. The family of Saggilaya supplied a *bēl piḫati* of Babylon during the reign of Kandalānu and a *šākin tēmi* during the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.¹⁰⁰ In one case, a *šatammu*-official may have become governor of Babylon¹⁰¹ and at least one other governor appears to

⁹⁵ ABL 288; for a translation, see Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 117. The use of the plural term "masters" (EN.MEŠ) is unexpected.

⁹⁶ ABL 274; for a translation, see Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 93. In returning to Uruk, Kudurru acted upon the advice of the chief baker.

⁹⁷ See ABL 238 rev. 8'-12'.

⁹⁸ E.g., Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 8-13 lines 58-59.

⁹⁹ See Appendix B sub 3 and Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 67-80.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix B sub 2a-b.

¹⁰¹ Bēl-lē'i-(kalama) son of (E)saggilaya (see Appendix B sub 2b-c).

have held high office before he became governor.¹⁰² There is no evidence that governors were moved from one city to another during this time. A governor could hold office for a considerable period. Nabû-ušabši governed Uruk for at least thirteen years (and a maximum of eighteen years).¹⁰³ Terms of office could also be short, particularly if the individual proved unacceptable to the Assyrian king. One letter from Nippur from the time of Esarhaddon states: "The king, your father, allowed ten-year (terms of office) for governors, but now three governors *have been ousted* ('it-te?!-bu?!-ū?') in a (single) year."¹⁰⁴

During the decade preceding Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's declaration of independence there appears to have been an unusual development in the governorship at Borsippa. Nabû-bēl-šumāti (not to be confused with the Sealander of that name) and Nabû-šuma-ušur, both called "son/descendant (*mār*) of Iliya," are attested as governors of Borsippa, the former in 662 (or later), 661, 656, 654, and 653 or 652, and the latter in 660, 658, and 656.¹⁰⁵ In 656 Nabû-bēl-šumāti was called governor in a text dated on the thirteenth day of Kislimu (IX) and Nabû-šuma-ušur in one dated less than a month later, on the seventh day of Tebētu (X). Possibly they were brothers (or relations of some other degree) who were sharing or alternating in the governorship of that city, but either arrangement would have been unprecedented.¹⁰⁶

The governor was the usual channel of communication between his province and the king. He passed on reports to the king and received orders from him. The king sometimes wrote to him and the people of his province jointly.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps these letters had to be read in public or at least to the elders of the city. On occasion the governor would claim to be writing to the king jointly with the people or officials of his province, presumably to indicate that the matter in question was important and of common concern.¹⁰⁸ The king was concerned about the welfare of his loyal officials and Kudurru of Uruk reports that Ashurbanipal had sent a doctor to cure him of an illness.¹⁰⁹ Governors appear to have desired and felt obliged to visit the king periodically, although they sometimes sent individuals to represent them and their provinces. On one occasion, the governor of Nippur felt compelled to

¹⁰² Kudurru, who was governor of Uruk after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, is probably to be identified with the Kudurru acting at Uruk during the revolt.

¹⁰³ See Appendix B sub 15a.

¹⁰⁴ CT 54 22 rev. 9-11; see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 158-59 no. 55 and CAD 17/1 (Š), p. 373.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix B sub 3.

¹⁰⁶ See Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 70-71.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., ABL 292 (to Enlil-bāni and the people of Nippur; see p. 276 n. 50) and 518 (to Kudurru and the people of Uruk).

¹⁰⁸ E.g., CT 54 15 (ABL 240+) (from Enlil-bāni, the people of Nippur, the *nešakku*-dignitaries, and the *ērib būi*-personnel).

¹⁰⁹ ABL 274 (Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 93).

send his brother and ten citizens (*mār banī*) to see the king when he was ill and could not go in person; on other occasions, fifteen elders of Nippur and the *šatammu*, *qīpu*, and scribe of the temple of Uruk visited the king.¹¹⁰ Personal contacts with the king and his advisors were important for an individual who wished to obtain an official position, to maintain it, and, eventually, to secure favours and positions for his friends and relatives. The king was unlikely to bestow offices on, or show favour to, someone he had not already met or someone who had not been vouched for by an individual he trusted. Thus officials tended to come from the same families since they automatically had access to the court. Officials in the provinces wished to make sure that they had friends at court who would ensure that their letters reached the king, mention their names when it could prove advantageous, and defend them when necessary from the complaints of other individuals. Even if an individual went to Nineveh, he could not be sure of seeing the king. Palace officials might not inform the king of his presence or recommend that he was worthy of being given an audience,¹¹¹ although governors are unlikely to have had this problem. Officials portrayed their own actions in the best possible light. They flattered, supplicated, and begged the king and his advisors in the hope of obtaining favours;¹¹² in order to show their zealotness for the Assyrian cause and to gain an advantage over rivals, they sometimes criticized the actions of other officials.

The governor would have had some force under his control to maintain the internal order of his city and province. This force was likely quite small, but he did have sufficient men and authority to arrest (runaway) captives (*habūtū*) and fugitives (*munabittu*). He also appears to have borne the responsibility to raise a larger body of armed men from his region if required to do so by the king. He could be ordered to prepare troops in his district and send them out to battle.¹¹³ The governor could levy assessments to keep the city's military resources at full strength and appears to have been responsible for the collection of at least some taxes, in particular the *šibtu*-tax on oxen and sheep on behalf of temples (i.e., to provide them with offerings).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ ABL 327 (Oppenheim, *Letters*, no. 121), 287, and 476 (LAS, no. 277). Parpola (LAS 2, p. 265) suggests that the Assyrian king received visiting officials in early Nisannu (I) or Tašritu (VII), at the time of the New Year's festival. With regard to the term *mār banī*, see p. 231.

¹¹¹ See ABL 287.

¹¹² Note for example the comment of Šuma-iddin, likely the *šatammu* of Esagila, that he had no friend or relative at court and that he had to rely solely on the king (Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 8-13 lines 50-54).

¹¹³ ABL 839:16-20 and 269.

¹¹⁴ ABL 340 rev. 4-9 (LAS, no. 276); see below p. 242 n. 162. ABL 464 rev. 1-3; see Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 167, 171, and 215 n. 1, where Postgate suggests the various Babylonian provinces and neighbouring districts may have been required to provide offerings for Esagila on a regular basis.

The governor's presence was desirable at the conclusion of certain legal transactions in his province, in particular matters involving the transfer of ownership of real estate and temple prebends. Of the economic texts that mention a governor as witness, about 80 per cent involve land (e.g., sales and exchanges) and about 15 per cent are sales of temple prebends. The governor could preside in court cases and send persons to the water ordeal,¹¹⁵ although court cases are said to have taken place more often before an assembly of citizens, with or without the governor.¹¹⁶ Such assemblies might include citizens from other cities, possibly because the parties involved in the dispute being judged came from different cities. For example, UET 4 200 refers to a dispute settled in the presence of Šin-balāssu-iqbi (presumably at that time governor of Ur) and men from Babylon, Borsippa, and Ur.¹¹⁷ Exactly who was eligible to form part of the assembly is uncertain, though probably only full citizens. In UET 4 201, the assembly is said to be comprised of the *mār banī* (LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ 'DÙ'.MEŠ). The term *mār banī* is usually translated "free person," "citizen," or "nobleman," and taken to refer to persons with full citizen rights, but its exact meaning remains uncertain.¹¹⁸ These assemblies could give judgement in legal disputes, impose monetary payments, and decide on the ownership of land and prebends. They could also send litigants to undergo an ordeal in order to help determine the matter. Decisions, however, could be appealed to the king and citizens

¹¹⁵ BM 33905 (governor and the people of Cutha); Budge, ZA 3 (1888): 228-29 no. 5 (governor of Babylon); BM 118983 (assembly of the people of Babylon and the governor); and compare TCL 12 4 (Bēl-īpuš [governor?] and the people of Dilbat) (B-K K.51, K.84, K.101, and 1.25 respectively).

¹¹⁶ Assemblies, or groups of citizens acting to decide legal matters, are attested at Babylon (Strassmaier, *8e Congrès*, no. 4, BM 77907, BM 118983 [B-K 1.6, K.1, and K.101 respectively]), Cutha (BM 33905 [B-K K.51]), Dilbat (TCL 12 4 [B-K 1.25]), and Ur (UET 4 200 and 201 [B-K Kn. 2 and K.166 respectively]). Note also the assembly of Babylonians at Hīdalu (Leichty, *AnSt* 33 [1983]: 153-55 and pl. 34; B-K R.1) and see San Nicolò, *BR* 8/7, pp. 146-47, commentary to line 5. With regard to city assemblies in Babylonia, see in particular Dandamaev in Šulmu. *Papers on the Ancient Near East Presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries (Prague, Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 1986)*, ed. P. Vavroušek and V. Souček (Prague, 1988), pp. 63-71.

¹¹⁷ The date of the text is not preserved, but it probably comes from the period Šin-balāssu-iqbi held office in Ur (B-K Kn.2). BM 47480+47783 (B-K K.9, composed at Dilbat) refers to an assembly comprised of the *rab alāni* and people from Babylon and Borsippa and BM 29029 (B-K K.107, composed at Dilbat) mentions an assembly of people from Babylon and Dilbat.

¹¹⁸ See for example CAD 10/1 (M), pp. 256-57; Dandamaev, *Klio* 63 (1981): 45-49 and *Slavery*, p. 44. The final part of the term is sometimes transcribed *banī* and sometimes *bānī*; there is at present no scholarly consensus on the matter. M. Roth has recently published an important document from the reign of Cyrus II which indicates that the status of *mār banī* did not have to be acquired at birth, but could be conferred upon a former slave, and that the *mār banī* was answerable to temple authorities (see Sjöberg *Festschrift*, pp. 481-89 and especially her discussion *ibid.*, pp. 486-87).

with privileged status could demand that their cases be heard by the king himself (see above).

Other Officials

It is generally not possible to determine the relative ranking of many of the subordinate officials within the provincial structure of Babylonia during the years 689-627 or to understand their exact duties and responsibilities. Sometimes it is unclear whether an official held responsibilities at the local, provincial, or national level. For earlier periods (especially for the Isin II period), kudurrus provide valuable data for examining the hierarchy and responsibilities of officials.¹¹⁹ Only two kudurrus are attested for this period, both from the pre-revolt reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and only a limited picture of the hierarchy of officials can be obtained from the witness lists (unfortunately damaged) of these two texts.¹²⁰

VA 3614

1. ^{md}ISKUR-da-a-ni
LÚ.SUKKAL
2. ^{md}AG-EN-PAP
LÚ.GAR ma-^a?¹-[ti ...]
3. ^{ma}AN.GAL-mu-šal-lim
LÚ.GAL.SAG
4. ^mŠEŠ-li-[i]a
LÚ šá 'IGI? É' [...]
5. ^{md}AG-kil-la-an-ni
LÚ mu-kil ap-pa-a-ti
6. ^mnu-ra-nu
LÚ q[ti-(i)-pi? ...]
7. ^{md}AG-MU-GAR-un
LÚ.DUB.SAR É.GAL
8. ^mtak?-lak¹-ana-^dAG?¹
LÚ q[ti-[p]a? šá [...]¹²²

BM 87220

- * 1. [^m]^dISKUR-da-an
LÚ.SUKKAL
- * 2. ^{md}PA-EN-ú-sur
LÚ.GAR.KUR¹ [...] ¹²¹
3. [...]
- * 4. [^mŠE]Š-'DINGIR¹-ia
LÚ šá IGI É.GAL
- * 5. ^{md}AG-kil-an-ni
LÚ m[u- ...]
6. [...]
7. [^mr]i-^{ba}-nu
LÚ q[ti-i-pi šá é-sag-gil
8. [...]

¹¹⁹ For the following Neo-Babylonian period, evidence is available for the ranking of officials at Uruk; see Kümmel, *Familie*, pp. 137-38.

¹²⁰ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 17-26 (VA 3614; B-K K.163) and King, *BBS* 10 rev. 42-50 (BM 87220, collated; B-K K.169).

¹²¹ With regard to province he governed, see p. 234 n. 128.

¹²² Landsberger, (*Brief*, p. 59 n. 110) suggests that Taklāk-ana-Nabū was the *qipu* of Ezida.

9. [^m]^dPA-GI
DUMU [^mda-ku¹-ru
10. [...]
9. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÙ * 11. [^m]^dAMAR.UTU-NUMUN-
A ^{md}30-šad-ú-ni
LÚ.TU.É^dAMAR.UTU
x [...] ¹ib¹-ni
A ^{md}30¹-šā-du-nu
LÚ.TU.É¹ [...]
12. [...]
13. [^m]^dAG-EN-MU.MEŠ
A ^mDINGIR-ia
LÚ.GAR.KU¹
bar-sip.¹KI¹
14. ^m[...]
11. ^{md}EN-DA-DÙ.A.BI * 15. [^m]^dEN-DA¹-DÙ.A.BI
A ^mé-[s]a[g-gil]-a-a
LÚ [...] ¹é¹-[...] ¹²⁴
A ^mé-sag-gil-a-a
LÚ.ŠA.TAM¹
16. [...]
12. ^{md}AG-URU-ir
DUMU ^{md}ILLAT-I
[...] ¹U.GUR-SAG.¹KAL¹
A ^{md}30-SISKUR-^{iš}-¹me¹
LÚ.¹GAR¹ [...] ¹²⁵
13. ^{md}AG-na-din-ŠEŠ
A ^mGAL-a-šā-^dMAŠ
[...] ¹me¹
14. ^{md}EN-SUM.NA * 19. [^m]^dEN-SUM¹.NA
DUMU ^mši-gu-u-¹a¹
[...] ¹ŠIM¹A¹ [...] ¹me¹

(* indicates that the individual is mentioned in both texts)

Although both lists are damaged and one originally contained several more entries than the other, it is obvious that a similar ordering was used in each.

¹²³ His place of office was probably at Babylon, where several members of the family of Arad-Ea had previously held the position of governor (see Lambert, *JCS* 11 [1957]: 2-3 and 9-10, and add VAS 1 37 v 2-3). One member of this family may have held office at Borsippa (see Frame, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 75).

¹²⁴ Possibly *šatammu* of Esagila; see Appendix B sub 2c.

¹²⁵ It seems probable the title was *šakin tēmi* of Cutha. Nergal-ašarid belonged to the same family (Šin-karābi-išme) as Išum-bāni, who was governor of Cutha during the reign of Merodach-Baladan II (VAS 1 37 v 12-13). He may be identical with Ašaridu, the governor of Cutha in 656 (see Appendix B sub 4a).

Court officials dominate the first part of each list: the *sukkallu* (a high official, sometimes translated "vizier") Adad-dān(i); the *rab* (*ša*) *rēši* (an important official of some type) AN.GAL-mušallim;¹²⁶ the *ša pān ekalli* (palace overseer) Aḫi-iliya; the *mukil appāi* (chariot driver, literally "the one who holds the reins") Nabū-killanni; and the *tuṣṣar ekalli* (palace scribe) Nabū-šuma-iškun.¹²⁷ The governor of a province (Nabū-bēla-ušur), however, is the second witness in each case.¹²⁸ The presence of court officials is not surprising since at the time these texts were composed there was a separate king in Babylon with his own court and since kudurrus were royal grants or decrees. These five court positions were important in Assyria at this time and their prominence in the two kudurrus may therefore reflect some Assyrian influence on the structure of the court at Babylon.¹²⁹ This would not be unexpected since at the time these texts were composed the king of Babylonia was an Assyrian prince, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. The fact that Nabū-killanni, the *mukil appāi*, appears among a number of Assyrian officials in the administrative document ADD 860 (i 18) suggests, but does not prove, that he was of Assyrian origin. Ashurbanipal claims to have given soldiers, horses, and chariots to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn¹³⁰ and Nabū-killanni may have been

¹²⁶ While the term *ša rēši* is often thought to have stood for "eunuch" in Assyria, there is as yet no proof that it did so in Babylonia and the exact relationship between the *ša rēši* and the *rab* *ša rēši* is not necessarily certain. See for example Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 309-11, Oppenheim, *JANES* 5 (1973): 325-34, and Brinkman and Dalley, *ZA* 78 (1988): 85-86. With regard to the reading of the first element of the personal name, see p. 282 n. 92.

¹²⁷ Due to damage to BM 87220, it is not certain if all five of these officials were mentioned in that text.

¹²⁸ It is not clear which province Nabū-bēla-ušur governed because neither entry is fully preserved. One of the two kudurrus (Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, pp. 302-306) was dated at Sippar and dealt with the grant of a prebend there; thus one might expect the governor of that city to have been present. Alternatively, Nabū-bēla-ušur may have been governor of Babylon, the most important province, as suggested by Johns in *PSBA* 25 (1903): 86-87. Or should he be identified with the like-named governor of Dūr-Šarrukku who was eponym in 672 (see Appendix B sub 7a)? Since the title *šakin māti* seems to have been used more by governors of Assyrian provinces than Babylonian ones (see *CAD* 17/1 [š], p. 160), since Dūr-Šarrukku may have been annexed to Assyria at this time, and since Dūr-Šarrukku was located not far from Sippar, this identification would seem obvious. One of the kudurrus (*BBS* 10), however, was composed sometime between 662 and 659 (in either year 6, 7, 8, or 9 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn). The Nabū-bēla-ušur who was governor of Dūr-Šarrukku is known to have left office before that time and to have been replaced by Šarru-lū-dāri, who was eponym in 664 (see Appendix B sub 7a). Thus, if he was the individual mentioned in that kudurru, he must returned to office at some point after 664.

¹²⁹ Note the mention of four of these five officials in the same order in the Assyrian letter *ABL* 568 rev. 12', 16', 17', and 20'. On these officials, see in particular: Klauber, *Beamtentum*; Kinnier Wilson, *Wine Lists*, pp. 36-37, 46-48, 52-53, and 62-64; Garelli in *RLA* 4, pp. 448-51; Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, pp. 37-38; and the references in n. 126. Compare this order of officials with that mentioned in kudurrus from the post-Kassite period (see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 301-303).

¹³⁰ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 28-29 iii 74-75.

sent by the Assyrian king to serve as commander of the chariotry. Whether the individuals holding the other four positions were Babylonians or Assyrians is unknown; their names give no certain clues. Similar influence may be detected at the court of Aššur-nādin-šumi, the son of Sennacherib who reigned at Babylon from 699 to 694. In addition to the *ša pān ekalli*, the *mukil appāi*, and the *tuṣṣar ekalli*, the witness list of a kudurru fragment from that time (Ashmolean 1933.1101) includes the *tašlišu* (the third man on a chariot), the *rab kišri* (the commander of an army unit), and the *ša muḫḫi būāni* (the person in charge of the inner quarters), all officials well attested in Assyria. While not mentioned in the two kudurrus from the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the *rab kišri* does appear in Babylonia during the period of concern here, although often as an official sent from Assyria.¹³¹ The beginning of the witness list of Ashmolean 1933.1101 is broken and may originally have included other "Assyrian" officials. Babylonian officials mentioned in that kudurru include the *qīpu* of Esagila (also appearing in at least one of the two lists from the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn), *šatammu* officials of Ezida and possibly Esagila, and at least one governor (*bēl pīḫ[ati]*).¹³²

The *sukkallu* headed each of the two witness lists from the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. There is no clear evidence of an individual holding this position in Babylonia during the years 689-627 except while there was a separate king of Babylonia (i.e., during the time Ashurbanipal reigned in Assyria).¹³³ In addition to the court functionaries the lists included provincial governors (Nabū-bēla-ušur, Nabū-bēl-šumāti of Borsippa, and probably Nergal-ašarid), individuals clearly or possibly associated with local temples—including a *šatammu* (Bēl-lē'i-kalama of the family of Esaggilaya), two or three *qīpu*-officials (Rīḫānu, Taklāk?-ana-Nabū?, and possibly Nūrānu), and an *ērīb būi* of the god Marduk (Marduk-zēra-ibni of the family of Sīn-šadūni)—the ruler of a Chaldean tribe (Nabū-ušallim of Bīt-Dakkūri), and several individuals whose titles (if any) are not preserved (Aqar-Bēl-lūmur of the family of Arad-

¹³¹ See, for example, *ABL* 273 rev. 1-8 and 275 rev. 4-6. In a legal document from Babylon, the *rab kišri* Mannu-kī-Arba'il is mentioned as the first of several important witnesses (Pinches, *AFO* 13 [1939-41]: pl. 3:28 [B-K S.7]; individual's name partially restored). He also appears in texts from Assyria (one of which is dated to 680) and in view of his name, he is likely to have been an Assyrian (see Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 125).

¹³² See Brinkman and Dalley, *ZA* 78 (1988): 76-98, especially 85-93; as Brinkman and Dalley note, the office of *tuṣṣar ekalli* had already appeared at the court of Merodach-Baladan II (*VAS* 1 37 v 15) and the positions of *ša pān ekalli*, and *ša muḫḫi būāni* eventually came to be used under the native Babylonian monarchy as well.

¹³³ This is undoubtedly due to the fact that we have not yet found the official archives at Babylon for this time. *ABL* 716 which may date after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt (see lines 10 and rev. 6-8) states that the king had installed a *sukkallu* and a *sartennu* in the land (Babylonia) to make just decisions there (rev. 11-13). Possibly Ashurbanipal was appointing officials to run Babylonia in the name of Kandalānu.

Ea, Nabû-nâsir of the family of Baliḥ-na'id,¹³⁴ and Nabû-nâdin-aḥi of the family of Rabâ-ša-Ninurta). One witness (Bēl-iddin of the family of Šigū'a) appears to have been a brewer; he may have been in charge of providing beer to the palace or some important temple complex. The fact that the head of the Bīt-Dakkūri tribe, was mentioned before the governor of Borsippa points out his important place within the provincial structure of Babylonia.¹³⁵

As was mentioned, a thorough study of Babylonian officialdom would involve using material from outside the period of concern here and would require a book of its own. A few words, however, must be said about the *šatammu*, logogram (LÚ).ŠA.TAM.¹³⁶ After the governor, the *šatammu* was the next most important official in a city, or at least the official mentioned the next most often in the texts. He was the chief official in charge of the administration of the major temple of a city. It may be wrong to consider him *de jure* part of the provincial administration since he was basically a local temple official; however, because of his eminence within the city, he was probably a person whom the king used in maintaining control of the city. The major temples in the land—such as Esagila in Babylon, Ebabbar in Sippar, Ezida in Borsippa, and Eanna in Uruk—had great influence in their communities. Besides caring for the (formal) religious life of the people, the temples controlled great wealth, which was derived from their large estates and economic enterprises, as well as from gifts and donations from the crown and populace. Thus the *šatammu* was a force to be reckoned with in the affairs of a city. The *šatammu* was normally a member of a prominent family in the city and the post of *šatammu* could be a stepping stone to that of governor. Holders of this office tended to be related to previous holders of the position; in particular, during all this period of time, only members of the family Nūr-Papsukkal are known to have held the position of *šatammu* of Ezida.¹³⁷ Like the governor, the *šatammu* often attended the formalization of certain business transactions; of the texts that have a *šatammu* as witness, about 70 per cent involve land (sales and exchanges) and about 10 per cent deal with temple prebends. He was responsible to the king, reporting directly to him on political as well as cultic matters, and could go to visit him.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ This witness may have been *šatammu* at Sippar (see p. 277 n. 56).

¹³⁵ The fact that he gives testimony in the proceeding described on the kudurru may play a part in this placement.

¹³⁶ The title has been translated in various ways, including "bishop" (Landsberger, *Brief*, p. 58) and "dean" (McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, p. 25). I prefer to leave the title untranslated.

¹³⁷ See Appendix B sub 3b and Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 67-80. In addition to the individuals mentioned in the latter article, note also Zākīr of the family of Nūr-Papsukkal who held the office of *šatammu* of Ezida at one point during the reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi (see Brinkman and Dalley, *ZA* 78 [1988]: 81, 83-84, and 89-90 iii 15').

¹³⁸ E.g., *ABL* 476 (*LAS*, no. 277) and 831; for the authorship of the latter letter, see p. 127 n. 138.

While he was the chief administrator of a city's temple, his exact role in the functioning of the temple is uncertain. There is no clear evidence that he had authority over all of a city's temples or that he took part in temple rituals.¹³⁹

Tribal Groups

Tribal groups appear to have lain outside the normal provincial structure for the most part, although the Gurasimmu were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Ur at one point and there may have been a province called Chaldea (KUR *kaidu*), which would have included undoubtedly some Chaldeans.¹⁴⁰ Assyrian kings are known to have appointed (or confirmed) and deposed tribal rulers at this time. The tribal chieftains probably had the same kinds responsibilities for their tribes as governors had for their provinces. This is to be expected; it would have been difficult and impractical to impose a system based upon the requirements of city populations on tribal structures with their own traditional leaders, or to have the tribes with their often nomadic lifestyle supervised by a city-bound bureaucracy. Officials in cities, however, did keep an eye on the tribal groups in the neighbouring area and reported on their activities to the king. It was best for the Assyrian king to recognize the tribal leader with his traditional authority and support from his own tribe as the person responsible for that tribe, and simply to replace him with another member of that tribe's leading family if he proved troublesome. One may wonder if Babylonian law (criminal and civil) extended to the tribal groups, particularly the nomadic elements. Likely they would have followed tribal law, although there is some evidence that Babylonian law may have been used among the more settled (and Babylonized) tribesmen in cases of land ownership.¹⁴¹ The internal administrative structure of the various tribes is unknown. In effect, the tribal groups seems to have formed semi-independent units within the state as a whole.

These tribal leaders could be powerful individuals, supported by their followers and making use of their tribes' economic resources. Šamaš-ibni

¹³⁹ This is not the place to present a thorough study of the role of this official in temple matters or of the temple hierarchy. Landsberger commenced such a study (*Brief*, pp. 58-63), but much work remains to be done. In addition, see the important article by M. Gallery on the *šatammu*, primarily in the Old Babylonian period, in *Afo* 27 (1980): 1-36. For the hierarchy at Uruk during the sixth century, see Kümmel, *Familie*, pp. 137-48, especially 138. Note in particular the order *šatammu*, *qīpu*, and temple scribe of Uruk in *ABL* 476:28-29 (*LAS*, no. 277); without the presence of these, Mār-Ištar could not check the gold in the temple treasury of Uruk which was available for restoring divine statues.

¹⁴⁰ See p. 221 n. 48 where it is suggested that *šaknu* of KUR *kaidu* may actually refer to the leader of the Bīt-Dakkūri or a lower official of that tribe.

¹⁴¹ E.g., *BBS* 10 (B-K K.169).

was called the king of Bīt-Dakkūri by Esarhaddon and Na'id-Marduk of Bīt-Yakin held the lordship (*bēlūtu*) of the Sealand.¹⁴² In an economic text from Šapiya, the ruler of the Bīt-Amukāni tribe was accorded the pre-eminent position in the witness list usually reserved for governors and *šatammu*-officials,¹⁴³ and in a kudurru the ruler of the Bīt-Dakkūri was one of eleven important witnesses listed.¹⁴⁴ Nabū-ušallim was made ruler of the Bīt-Dakkūri by Esarhaddon and reported to Assyria about events in his area. He was powerful enough to refuse to hand over persons without a royal order¹⁴⁵ and could give testimony to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn on the question of land ownership.¹⁴⁶ The administration of those Aramean tribes with more than one sheikh (e.g., the Puqūdu) is unknown, although the Gambūlu appear to have been united under one leader during part of this period (Bēl-iqīša and later his son Dunanu). The division of power within the Puqūdu may have been one of the reasons for their disruptive role in Babylonian life.

Tribute and Taxes

There is little information about the payment of tribute or taxes by Babylonia to Assyria or to its own king (when that king was distinct from the king of Assyria) during this time. Earlier, Tiglath-pileser III had imposed tribute on the Chaldean sheikhs and Sargon II had required tribute from various Babylonian groups, including Arameans (the Puqūdu in particular), the "whole land of Chaldea" (the Bīt-Amukāni and Bīt-Dakkūri in particular), and the city of Dūr-Kurigalzu; finally Sennacherib received tribute and/or gifts from an official of Ḫararātu, a place likely located east of the Tigris.¹⁴⁷ On one occasion, Sargon had also required defeated Arameans to send animals annually to the gods Marduk and Nabū; presumably these animals were to be used as offerings in the temples of these deities at Babylon and Borsippa.¹⁴⁸ Only two Babylonian tribal groups are known to have sent tribute (*biltu* and *mandattu*) or "gifts" (*tāmartu*) to Assyria in the time of Esarhaddon. Na'id-Marduk, the head of the Sealand and ruler of Bīt-Yakin, sent yearly gifts to

¹⁴² Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 52 §27 episode 12 A iii 63 and p. 47 §2 episode 4 A ii 61-62.

¹⁴³ As the first witness, preceded by the phrase *ina ušuzzi ša* ("in the presence of"). BM 118970:31 and duplicate BM 118976 (B-K I.22-23). Šapiya (Sapiya) lay within the area controlled by the Bīt-Amukāni (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, p. 53:42-47) and appears to have been its "capital" during the time of (Nabū)-mukīn-zēri (see Brinkman in *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 11 and n. 28).

¹⁴⁴ *BBSr* 10 rev. 45 (B-K K.169); he is cited simply as Nabū-ušallim *mār* Dakkūru.

¹⁴⁵ *ABL* 336:8-13.

¹⁴⁶ *BBSr* 10 (B-K K.169).

¹⁴⁷ Rost, *Tigl. III*, pp. 44-45:14-15; Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 2-5:6-10, 48-49:4-330, and 56-57:376-377 (partially restored); and Luckenbill, *Senn.*, pp. 25-26 i 54-57 and 54:57.

¹⁴⁸ Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 50-51:331-332.

Esarhaddon and Bēl-iqīša of the Gambūlu sent tribute.¹⁴⁹ There is no evidence that the city populations sent tribute to Assyria at this time; instead, they often received favours and gifts from Esarhaddon and from Ashurbanipal, at least in the first half of the latter's reign (see chapter 4). It has sometimes been suggested that it was the payment of tribute that caused Šamaš-šuma-ukīn to rebel, but there is in fact no clear evidence that he ever did send tribute to Ashurbanipal.¹⁵⁰ After Ashurbanipal put down the rebellion of 652-648, he did, however, require those Babylonians who had rebelled to send him tribute yearly and to provide Aššur, Bēlet, and the other gods of Assyria with various types of offerings (*sattukkī ginē rēšēti*).¹⁵¹ As mentioned in chapter 9, shortly after the revolt some individuals from Uruk, Nippur, Larak and the Chaldean tribes of Bīt-Dakkūri and Bīt-Amukāni appear to have been punished for not sending "gifts" (*tāmartu*) to Assyria, but exactly when they had done so is uncertain. Since they were not accused of having aided Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, or of having fought against Assyria, it may be that they were being punished for not paying the tribute imposed upon them after the revolt of 652-648, but one would not expect them to have done this so soon after the crushing of the earlier rebellion. If because of the special privileges granted to them by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the citizens of some Babylonian cities did not pay tribute to Assyria, one can, however, assume that they still paid taxes for the administration and defence of their cities and temples. Due to the absence of documentary evidence from Babylon, we are unable to determine if the various Babylonian cities and tribes sent taxes to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu to help them maintain their courts in Babylon, though this would seem likely. They may also have been required to send offerings to Babylon to help maintain the cult of Marduk, the national deity.¹⁵²

Assyrian Involvement

Assyrian involvement in the internal administration of Babylonia was extensive, even though the basic structure was not changed and there was at

¹⁴⁹ Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 47 §27 episode 4 A ii 63-64 (*tāmartu*) and pp. 52-53 §27 episode 13 A iii 75-78 (*biltu* and *mandattu*).

¹⁵⁰ See p. 131 n. 1 for sometimes proposed references to tribute in *ABL* 301 and Amherst papyrus 63. Grayson's translation of *ABL* 1105:28'-31' (=Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* 2, no. 9) indicates that Ashurbanipal had some Babylonians swear to help the Assyrian king in collecting any tribute which was due from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, or more accurately from individual(s) under his authority ("[If ...] of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, or of another land will not deliver [his tribute to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria] ..."; *JCS* 39 [1987]: 144 and see 140); the crucial word "tribute" is, however, restored.

¹⁵¹ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 40-41 iv 106-109.

¹⁵² See p. 230 n. 114.

times a king of Babylonia who was not also the king of Assyria. The Assyrian king appointed or confirmed the most important Babylonian officials and these were expected to make full reports to, and to carry out the orders of, the Assyrian king. Assyrians could also be sent south to carry out duties there and to report to the king on the activities of Babylonian officials. There was an Assyrian¹⁵³ official (*šaknu*) stationed at Nippur during the reign of Ashurbanipal to forward sealed orders and messengers of the king¹⁵⁴ and Esarhaddon sent a trusted official by the name of Mār-Ištar to Babylonia to supervise and report on the restoration of temples and the reorganization of cultic services. A large number of his letters have been preserved and they provide a wealth of data on his activities. Mār-Ištar appears to have operated over a wide area; his letters refer to Akkad, Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dēr, Dilbat, Dūr-Šarrukku, Hursagkalama, Laḫīru, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk. He seems to have borne royal orders to officials in the south, seen that they were carried out, and reported on this to the king. There is an emphasis in the letters upon temple-cultic matters (such as sacrifices, divine statues and their repair, the substitute-king ritual, and the repair of temples), but these were not his only concerns. He wrote to the king about the actions (both legal and illegal) of local officials, repair work on bridges, and relations with Elam. The Assyrian kings undoubtedly realized that local officials might have their own reasons to disguise the true nature of conditions and events and send unreliable reports to the king. Thus the kings sent trusted individuals such as Mār-Ištar to check up on matters, to carry out special tasks, and perhaps to co-ordinate operations between various jurisdictions. These special agents acted openly and were officially recognized—they were the eyes and the ears of the king.¹⁵⁵

As a further means of controlling Babylonia, it seems that the Assyrian kings sometimes had Babylonians held as hostages in Assyria, presumably as guaranty for their families' or tribes' loyalty. Some were there in the guise of welcome "guests" while others were youths being educated in Assyria, with the intention (on the part of the Assyrians) that they would become favourably disposed towards Assyria and remain so when they later took up positions of authority back home. Bēl-ibni, who had been appointed ruler of Babylonia

¹⁵³ Or at least the individual's name included the divine name Aššur.

¹⁵⁴ ABL 238 rev. 8'-10'. In Assyria, *šaknu* can refer to both governors and other officials (probably military officials of fairly high rank); see Postgate, *AnSt* 30 (1980): 67-76. It seems likely that Aššur-bēla-taqqin was a military official posted in Nippur by the Assyrian king to keep an eye on matters in that frequently rebellious town and to facilitate communication between Babylonia and Assyria. The Assyrians relied upon an efficient system of messengers to keep them up to date about what occurred in the south.

¹⁵⁵ See Parpola, *LAS*, nos. 275-297 and 2, p. XVI; see also chapter 6.

by the Assyrians in 703, was described as the son of a *rab banī* who had been brought up in Sennacherib's palace "like a young dog."¹⁵⁶

III. The Military

Preferring Babylonia to be militarily weak and dependent upon Assyria for its defence, the Assyrian rulers saw to it that no Babylonian standing army existed, or at least no large body of forces on permanent duty. They did not wish to see the creation of a potentially hostile military force in Babylonia and this would have been facilitated by the fact that Babylonia did not have a tradition as a militaristic state.¹⁵⁷ In edition A of his annals, Ashurbanipal claimed to have given military forces—literally "soldiers, horses, (and) chariots"—to his brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.¹⁵⁸ This was a defence of Ashurbanipal's goodness and magnanimity towards his brother, in contrast to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's perfidy at the time of the revolt, and should be weighed accordingly. It is uncertain if these "troops" were comprised of Assyrians or Babylonians, how many were involved, or to whom they were loyal. Perhaps they simply comprised Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's palace guard or were his personal bodyguards, since he was after all an Assyrian in Babylonia.

Since relatively unsophisticated weaponry and techniques were universally employed¹⁵⁹ and since Babylonia was not then attempting to conquer or hold other areas, it needed no large standing army. Each city would have had some armed forces to maintain at least minimum security and these would have been supplemented by levies formed from the citizenry in times of trouble. The tribal groups could also supply a large number of men for combat if they were so ordered and so inclined. Šamaš-šuma-ukīn did not rely solely on outside, non-Babylonian forces to fight his war with Assyria; he was able to raise sufficient troops to capture Nippur and Cutha and to keep the Assyrians busy for more than four years. The tribal groups may have provided a large part of his (mobile) army, with the inhabitants of the cities

¹⁵⁶ Luckenbill, *Senn.*, pp. 54:54 and 57:13. The exact meaning of the term *rab banī* and its exact relation to the term *mār banī* is uncertain. In recent studies, Zadok has taken it to mean "noble" or something similar (*RA* 77 [1983]: 189-90) and Brinkman and Dalley as a family name, similar to such family names as "Fuller" (*LÜ ašlāku*) and "Weaver" (*LÜ išparu*) (*ZA* 78 [1988]: 90-91). On the question of Babylonian hostages in Assyria, see Parpola, *Iraq* 34 (1972): 33-34 and the case of Ea-zēra-qīša (*ABL* 896). Note also the presence of Babylonian economic texts drawn up at the city of Assur (*B-K* I.4 and I.7). Despite Parpola, *Iraq* 34 (1972): 33, there is really no proof that the Kudurru mentioned as doing scholarly work in Nineveh was the Kudurru who was a son of the Chaldean Šamaš-ibni; Kudurru was a common name at this time.

¹⁵⁷ During the post-Kassite period (1158-722), Babylonia appears to have had only a small army (Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 312).

¹⁵⁸ Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 28-29 iii 74-75.

¹⁵⁹ Thus a large body of "professional" troops was not required.

being more disposed to maintain the security of their cities, but this is mere supposition. Earlier, Merodach-Baladan II had been able to raise a sizeable force against Assyria¹⁶⁰ and later Nabopolassar was able to do the same. The force supporting Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in 652-648 probably cannot be described as a unified army. In all probability, it would have been comprised of both urban citizenry and tribal groups, with the latter probably led by their tribal leaders. It is not clear how much contact there was between the various groups, particularly between Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in the north and Nabû-bêl-šumāti in the south, and after the Assyrians began to gain ground by 650.

A provincial governor could prepare and send out *hiyālu*-troops from his own area if ordered to do so by the (Assyrian) king¹⁶¹ and Babylonian cities were responsible for maintaining a certain number of chariots, presumably for military use.¹⁶² Possibly provinces were required to raise and equip a set number of troops if the king requested them. For major disturbances, troops were sent from Assyria. There is no clear evidence that there were normally Assyrian garrisons in Babylonian cities, except during the rebellion of 652-648, although Nippur was likely garrisoned after the revolt.¹⁶³ Ša-pī-Bêl, a Gambulian centre bordering Elam, was not garrisoned by Esarhaddon when its ruler submitted to him; Esarhaddon simply considered the native troops there to be a garrison against Elam.¹⁶⁴ However, garrisons were sometimes installed in forts located outside urban centres, particularly in border regions. Auxiliaries made up of Aramean tribesmen may occasionally have been stationed in Babylonian cities, but it is uncertain if they were there on permanent duty or how large their numbers were. At one point, men of the Utu', Yādaqu, and Reḥīqu tribes were stationed in Borsippa to keep watch.¹⁶⁵ The Assyrian kings maintained an efficient network for gathering intelligence in Babylonia in order to ensure that they received immediate word of potentially dangerous situations and outbreaks of trouble in that land and in order to be able to react quickly if military aid from Assyria proved necessary.

¹⁶⁰ See for example, Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 44-45:274-277.

¹⁶¹ ABL 269. Postgate (*BiOr* 41 [1984]: 422) points out that *hiyālu*-troops appear only in Babylonian letters and did not constitute part of the regular Assyrian army. Exactly what their particular function was is unclear.

¹⁶² ABL 340 (*LAS*, no. 276) appears to indicate that the governors of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha made the citizens of their cities bring up the numbers of their chariotry to its former strength: *re-eš GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ku-nu iṣ-ša*, "make up your chariots (to their former strength)" (rev. 5-6). Parpola (*LAS* 2, p. 264) suggests that this was done to make up for losses occurring in the Egyptian campaign of 671 or in preparation for that campaign.

¹⁶³ See chapter 9.

¹⁶⁴ Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 53 §27 episode 13 A iii 80-83. Esarhaddon may simply have been accepting as a fact the presence of Bêl-iqīša's troops in that city.

¹⁶⁵ ABL 349. They served with Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu who was to guard the house of an individual by the name of Nabû-lē'i. The date of the letter is uncertain; Röllig (*RLA* 5, p. 232) suggests a date c. 675, but presents no evidence for this.

Babylon was about 450 kilometres from Nineveh. A messenger could cover this distance in about six days¹⁶⁶ and an army marching 25 kilometres a day could cover it in about 18 days.¹⁶⁷ When Urtak invaded Babylonia early in the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, the Babylonian king had to wait for Ashurbanipal to send troops from Assyria to drive out the Elamites.¹⁶⁸

In 677, 652, and probably 679, chronicles record the following: *rab bīti ina māt Akkadī biḫirtu* (var. *biḫirti*) *ibteḫir*, "The steward did/made *biḫirtu* in the land of Akkad"; for 652, it is stated that the official did this from the second month until the tenth month.¹⁶⁹ Since these events are mentioned in the chronicles, they must have been considered important. The phrase *biḫirtu beḫēru* occurs only here, and the verb *beḫēru* occurs only once otherwise, in a Neo-Babylonian letter in connection with the choosing of cattle.¹⁷⁰ Thus the exact meaning of the phrase cannot be derived from the context alone. Many scholars translate the phrase as "to levy/conscript troops,"¹⁷¹ taking the root *bḫr* to be a loan from Aramaic. Although the meaning "choose" or "examine" is well attested for the Aramaic verb ܒܝܚܐ and the Hebrew ܒܝܚ, in neither language does the verb have a clear military connotation. In Hebrew, the related noun can occasionally have a military connection, referring to a "chosen/selected man," "young man," or "warrior";¹⁷² however, ideally one would wish for a clearer connection for the Neo-Babylonian usage than this. The title *rab bīti*, "steward," could denote an individual ranging from an overseer of a private household to an important government official. The references in the chronicles must, however, refer to a high official. Postgate argues that in Assyria a *rab bīti* "despite his title, usually acted as military deputy to a provincial governor" and this would support a military connotation for the phrase *biḫirtu beḫēru*.¹⁷³ The fact that the action in

¹⁶⁶ See Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ Twenty-five to thirty kilometres a day was a reasonable march for an army; see Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964): 63 and Eph'al in *HHI*, p. 99. Note also Wall-Romana, *JNES* 49 (1990): 216 on boat trips from Mosul to Baghdad lasting three to six days.

¹⁶⁸ Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 58-59 iv 33-52.

¹⁶⁹ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iii 48 (restored) and iv 4, no. 14:6 (mostly restored) and 12, and no. 16:9-10.

¹⁷⁰ *BIN* 1 68:24.

¹⁷¹ See Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 83, commentary to no. 1 iv 4; *CAD* 2 (B), pp. 186 and 223; and *AHW*, pp. 117-18 and 125 (following Landsberger and Bauer, *ZA* 37 [1927]: 74).

¹⁷² See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 155; *BDB*, pp. 103-104 and Ludwig Koehler und Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament*, 3rd edition (Leiden, 1967), volume 1, pp. 114-15. The best examples are 1 Chron. 19:10, 2 Chron. 25:5, and Judg. 20:15-16. Note also Z. Weisman's study of *bāḥūr* in the Old Testament which argues that the connotations of "young man" and "selected warrior" "originated from a primary common background that had to do with trial and testing" (*Vetus Testamentum* 31 [1981]: 441-50).

¹⁷³ Postgate, *Iraq* 35 (1973): 31 n. 19 and see also Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, p. 193 sub i 8'-9' and iii 22'.

question was carried out in 652, commencing in the same month in which the rebellion is first attested and ending in the same month in which actual warfare first broke out, might well suggest a military connotation, and the levying of troops at that time would certainly have been appropriate.¹⁷⁴ Although it seems likely that the *rab bīti* was choosing/collecting something/some persons, and although the meaning "to levy troops" seems reasonable for the phrase *bīhirtu beḥēru*, the exact connotation of this phrase cannot be considered certain.¹⁷⁵

How large a force could be raised in Babylonia during the years 689-627 is unknown but we do have some figures for individual actions. During the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, Uruk raised 500 or 600 archers to go to the aid of Ur; on another occasion, 1000 bowmen are mentioned as being stationed in Ur. In addition, 250 Gurasimmu were involved with Nabû-bēl-šumāti after he abandoned the Sealand to Bēl-ibni.¹⁷⁶ Archers, *ḫiyālu*-troops, and chariotry are attested as part of the Babylonian military during this period,¹⁷⁷ although their numbers are unknown. During the revolt of 652-648, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn is known to have gone out himself with troops to oppose the Assyrians,¹⁷⁸ but, for the most part, the urban populations tended to rely upon their city walls. The tribal groups and Elam often appear to have provided the bulk of active combatants. In summary, very little is known about the Babylonian military establishment at this time, probably because no formal unified military establishment existed. On occasion, Arameans, Chaldeans, and urban citizenry from Babylonia supported Assyria militarily (possibly even forming part of the Assyrian armed forces themselves), though some of these may have been no longer resident in Babylonia (e.g., deportees or their descendants).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ Brinkman (*Prelude*, p. 77 n. 375) suggests it may not be simply an accident that in all three cases political upheavals occurred in Babylonia within two years of the *rab bīti* acting.

¹⁷⁵ See also Brinkman, *Prelude*, p. 77 n. 375. The chronicles may simply refer to a palace official who assembled a few individuals for some duty, but one might not have expected them to bother mentioning such an occurrence or for it to have taken place (and have lasted eight months) in 652.

¹⁷⁶ *ABL* 754:10-13, 1129 rev. 13'-16', and 1000:16'-17'. Figures may have been rounded off or exaggerated. Earlier Merodach-Baladan II had sent 600 cavalry and 4000 garrison troops to aid Dūr-Aṭhara against the army of Sargon II (Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 44-45:274-277).

¹⁷⁷ E.g., *ABL* 754:10, 269:7-10, and 340 rev. 5-6; Surek, *Asb.*, pp. 28-29 iii 74-75.

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 148.

¹⁷⁹ See Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961): 38 ND 2619; Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, pp. 35-39; Zadok, *WO* 16 (1985): 65; *ABL* 564:5-8; and Starr, *SAA* 4, no. 280. On the Assyrian army, see in particular Manitius, *ZA* 24 (1910): 97-149 and 185-224; Reade, *Iraq* 34 (1972): 87-112; Malbran-Labat, *Armée* (though note Postgate, *BiOr* 41 [1985]: 420-26); Postgate in *Power and Propaganda*, pp. 207-13; and Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, pp. 27-47. See Eph'al in *HHI*, pp. 88-106, for a useful discussion of warfare and military control in the ancient Near East.

CHAPTER 11

BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, AND ELAM

Throughout its history, Babylonia had much to do with Assyria to the north and Elam to the east. This is not surprising since these were the only two unified states bordering Babylonia. To the south of Babylonia was the Persian Gulf, with its route to Dilmun and beyond, and to the west was the Syro-Arabian desert, with its nomadic tribal groups. Because the three countries adjoined one another geographically, were connected by trade routes, and had similar religious, literary, and political traditions and interests, they maintained close relations. Not all contacts between the lands were hostile. Trade was carried out across border-lines. Individuals and tribal groups travelled from one land to another and at times took up residence in the new country. Inevitably a large part of the information on Babylonia during the years 689-627 deals with its relations with Assyria and Elam—especially Assyria since that land controlled Babylonia at this time. This chapter will attempt to provide some idea of the nature of these relations.¹

During most of the years from 689 to 627 Babylonia was not an independent sovereign state; it had no formal foreign policy or diplomatic relations with other states. Only during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt was there a truly independent ruler of Babylonia, but then the country was not united under him and Assyrian troops moved throughout his land. At other times during the reign of Ashurbanipal in Assyria, although Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu ruled nominally in Babylonia, the Assyrian king seems to have been the final authority and Babylonian foreign policy was, in effect, Assyrian foreign policy. Since Babylonia did not act as a sovereign state during almost all of this period, it will be useful to examine the actions of individual persons and groups within Babylonia, keeping in mind that such actions were not necessarily representative of the entire country. Our sources in themselves may provide a one-sided view of affairs, being written mostly by or for Assyrians; there are no real first-hand accounts that give the sentiments of individual Babylonians.

¹ The documentation for most of the statements presented in this chapter has been provided earlier in this study, primarily in chapters 5-10. Commercial relations will not be considered here, though not because of their irrelevance or lack of importance.

I. Babylonian "Foreign Policy"

During the years 689-627 Babylonian resistance to Assyrian domination was never far from the surface. There were frequent efforts on the part of various elements, particularly the tribal groups, to throw off the Assyrian yoke and establish their independence. They did not shy away from armed resistance, and there were a number of revolts in Babylonia during this time. Whenever Assyrian control seemed weak, or Assyria was pre-occupied with other matters rebellion might break out (for example during the unrest in Assyria at the death of Sennacherib). The Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt showed that many Babylonians were willing to follow a foreigner, even an Assyrian, into rebellion if there was a good chance of success. There also is the possibility that at times rebellion may have been fuelled by nothing more than greed for wealth and power on the part of the "rebel leaders." Though Babylonia was a rich country, it appears to have had no well-organized army, so that outside support was desirable in order to provide both military aid and a place of refuge if necessary. Many Babylonian rebels sought Elamite support and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, at least, was willing to pay for such support, as had earlier kings of Babylonia.²

Various forces and motives came into play in different localities that effected the impetus behind, and support for, rebellion. These would have included fear of Assyrian reprisal, proximity to Assyrian troops, preparedness for rebellion (e.g., presence or absence of city walls and military equipment), ability to flee from Assyrian troops, internal divisions and antipathies, and self-interest (e.g., some officials were dependent on Assyria for their positions while others had relatives being held hostage in Assyria). Nomadic and semi-nomadic tribal groups who could readily pick up their possessions and flee, were well versed in the arts of fighting and survival, and had relatively few tangible possessions to lose, might be more willing to risk rebellion than settled, urban populations who could be more easily trapped in their cities and towns, stripped of their possessions, and forced to watch their houses and crops destroyed.³ Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon was likely a much more vivid memory for urban populations (especially the inhabitants of Babylon) than for non-urban groups, and would remind them of the possible consequences of rebellion. The tribal chieftains traditionally had great respect and authority which might have made it easier for them to unite their people in one purpose than for city governors who

² See Brinkman, *JNES* 24 (1965): 161-66.

³ This does not mean to imply that tribal groups had no permanent settlements which could be attacked or that they were poor.

were dependent upon the Assyrian king for their positions.⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that the major revolts were led or supported mainly by tribal groups, and in particular by the leaders of the Chaldean Bīt-Yakīn tribe who had provided kings for Babylonia in the past and could use the swamp-marsh area of the Sealand as a convenient base of operations and place of retreat.⁵

Unity of action even among the tribal groups, however, was extremely rare. The fragmented nature of the Babylonian state did not encourage united action or a common policy.⁶ Internal divisions and various interests and concerns made uniting the people in a common purpose difficult if not impossible; Šamaš-šuma-ukīn came closest to doing so during the period in question. Of course, he had the advantage of having been the acknowledged ruler of Babylonia for sixteen years beforehand, sufficient time for him to build up a base of support and power.⁷ The absence of a universally acknowledged native ruling family was a major factor in preventing the formation of a common response to Assyria. The throne of Babylonia had not remained in the possession of any one family for any length of time since the ninth century, when the family of Nabū-šuma-ukīn ruled Babylonia for four generations. This was mainly as a result of foreign interference and internal revolts, revolts which often involved tribal groups.

It has occasionally been suggested that there was a pro-Assyrian party in Babylonia during the time of the late Neo-Assyrian kings (Tiglath-pileser III to Ashurbanipal) and that this party was found in the cities of northern Babylonia, particularly among the temple personnel of Babylon and Borsippa.⁸ This argument depends on (a) the belief that there were persons of Assyrian descent among the temple personnel of Borsippa, (b) statements of the Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II that after they had defeated tribal groups in Babylonia they were welcomed by individuals in northern Babylonian cities, and (c) the knowledge that Babylonian cities did not always support anti-Assyrian movements and sometimes aided Assyria

⁴ While tribal rulers may have been confirmed in their positions by the Assyrian king (e.g., Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 47 §27 episode 4 A ii 62), in general they seem to have come from the native ruling families of the tribes.

⁵ Although Nippur, or at least some of its governors, frequently gave trouble to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and a number of cities in northern Babylonia strongly supported Šamaš-šuma-ukīn during the revolt of 652-648, the city populations otherwise appear to have remained submissive to Assyria.

⁶ For example, the Aramean Puqūdu fought with the Chaldean Bīt-Amūkāni (*ABL* 275).

⁷ The fact that he was an Assyrian may have been one of the reasons why not all Babylonians rallied to his cause against the king of Assyria.

⁸ E.g., Ahmed, *Asb.*, pp. 48-50, and Brinkman in *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 20 n. 103 and p. 39 (subsequently retracted in *PKB*, p. 225 n. 1420).

against Babylonian rebels.⁹ However, the idea that some temple personnel were of Assyrian descent was based upon the mistaken interpretation of the term A^mĀŠ-ŠUR to mean "descendant of the Assyrian" rather than "descendant of Ēda-ētir"¹⁰ and the statements of the Assyrian kings that they had been welcomed by Babylonians can not be accepted uncritically. Our knowledge of the welcome given to the victorious Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II by persons from Babylon, Borsippa, and possibly Cutha comes from those kings' own inscriptions¹¹ and naturally they would have wished to present themselves as the saviours of Babylonia from evil and impious tribal leaders and as the legitimate and acknowledged rulers of that country.¹² If indeed they were welcomed by inhabitants of these cities, one may wonder if these persons were not merely trying to pacify the Assyrian kings and prevent hostile actions being directed against them and their cities.

One does not find much actual evidence of pro-Assyrian support in Babylonia. Although Assyrian kings showed favour to the inhabitants of Babylonia's cities and on occasion presented themselves as defenders and champions of the cities (particularly against the tribal groups), during the period from Tiglath-pileser's defeat of Nabû-mukîn-zēri (729) until the death of Ashurbanipal, only once did any cities actively support Assyria against Babylonian rebels. This, of course, was the Šamaš-šuma-ukîn Revolt, in which various cities and towns in southern Babylonia (Uruk, Ur, Eridu, Kissik, Šāt-iddin, and Kullab), as well as Cutha,¹³ aided Ashurbanipal against his own brother (i.e., another Assyrian). Before 689, cities had often given military support to rebel movements led by tribal rulers (e.g., Nabû-mukîn-zēri, Merodach-Baladan II, and Mušēzib-Marduk).¹⁴ During the years 689-627, several cities of northern Babylonia supported the revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, and Nippur was frequently involved in anti-Assyrian actions. Even though active urban support for rebels is otherwise unattested during these years, it does not necessarily reflect a pro-Assyrian attitude in those cities. Recognizing Babylonia's internal disunity and military weakness, Assyria's overwhelming military might, their own vulnerable position, and the fact that the interests of the tribal groups which usually led the rebel

⁹ Cutha and the cities of southern Babylonia remained loyal to Assyria during the Šamaš-šuma-ukîn Revolt. Babylonians are attested fighting on the side of the Assyrians on several occasions.

¹⁰ See Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 170.

¹¹ Rost, *Tigl. III*, pp. 2-3:6-7 and Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 54-57:371-375.

¹² Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 42-43:267-273.

¹³ It is possible that Cutha supported Assyria at the beginning of the Šamaš-šuma-ukîn Revolt only because of the presence of Assyrian troops in or near that city (see p. 146).

¹⁴ In particular, Babylon underwent a long siege by Assyrian troops for supporting Mušēzib-Marduk. Babylonian cities did not, however, always support rebellions; for example, Dilbat and Nippur may have supported Assyria against Nabû-mukîn-zēri (see Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 237).

movements were not always the same as theirs, the urban population may have remained neutral simply out of a desire for self-preservation and stability. The cities may not have regarded the tribal leaders as legitimate candidates for the throne of Babylonia. While the descendants of Merodach-Baladan II could point to him and Eriba-Marduk as ancestors who had been kings of Babylonia, and attempt to claim the kingship on the basis of inheritance, other Babylonians who were not related to them had been accepted as legitimate rulers of Babylonia in the meantime. The neutral position on the part of the city populations may have been one of the reasons rebel leaders occasionally carried out hostile actions against them.¹⁵

If there was a pro-Assyrian party in Babylonia, it is more likely to be found in the cities and towns of the south rather than in northern Babylonia. These centres were located in an area that was inhabited primarily by tribal groups and that might have been less prosperous because of the poorer agricultural condition of the land (part was swamp-marsh and part perhaps highly salinated).¹⁶ Yet during this period the city of Ur experienced a time of prosperity, as attested by the building programme of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi. Some of the cities and towns of the south undoubtedly derived economic benefits from their location on trade routes to and from the Persian Gulf;¹⁷ and Uruk, Ur, and probably Eridu likely gained because of their long-standing religious importance. Still it is quite possible that Assyrian kings were at least partially responsible for the prosperity of some of these cities and towns. Somewhat isolated from the important centres of northern Babylonia, the southern centres may have been intended to form bastions of pro-Assyrian sentiment, or stability, in this tribal area. These cities would have been natural antagonists of the tribal groups in the area, and favourable Assyrian actions may simply have reinforced their opposition to rebellion and the tribes who supported it. Sargon II had settled persons from Kummuhu in the area of Bīt-Yakîn.¹⁸ Could these immigrants have also supported Assyria because they felt insecure in their new homes? Thus, some of these cities and towns may have been in part artificially supported in order to help facilitate control over the tribes concentrated in the area.¹⁹ Members of high-ranking families in

¹⁵ This could be why Merodach-Baladan II took captives from Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa to Dūr-Yakîn (Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 64-65:7-9).

¹⁶ Note that according to Wright's surface survey of the area of Ur the population reached its maximum height in the late Larsa-Old Babylonian period and declined markedly thereafter (despite a slight increase in Neo-Babylonian-Persian times) and Ur itself shrank in size between 1800 and 400, after which the area was practically abandoned (see Wright in Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, pp. 295-345, especially p. 336).

¹⁷ For Ur's contacts with the west, see Brinkman, *Or. NS* 34 (1965): 258.

¹⁸ Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 64-65:13-16.

¹⁹ Note also the case of Kissik in which the inhabitants of the town clearly distinguished themselves from the surrounding Chaldeans and stated that they were hated by them (*ABL* 210).

Babylonian cities who were dependent upon Assyria for their official positions and who were especially favoured by them probably helped maintain Assyrian control in the southern kingdom. In this connection, we may think of Nabû-ušabši at Uruk and the family of Ningal-iddin at Ur who kept their cities loyal to Ashurbanipal during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt. Possibly they may be considered to have held "pro-Assyrian" views, but how large such a "party" may have been is unknown. In general, those who did not actively support rebel movements against Assyria might be classified more accurately as political pragmatists or realists rather than as pro-Assyrians or collaborators. Indeed, a common, negative view of Assyrian rule may have been one of the few factors unifying the heterogeneous population of Babylonia.

II. Assyria and Babylonia

The purpose of Assyria's policy toward Babylonia at this time seems clear. It was to keep Babylonia within Assyria's sphere of influence and under Assyria's control. Assyria was essentially successful in this since Babylonia was ruled by the Assyrian king, directly or indirectly, during all but a few years of this period. For many reasons the possession of Babylonia was desirable to the Assyrian empire. The most important may be summarized as follows:

1. Babylonia was a rich country, located on several important trade routes,²⁰ and thus a source of wealth for its Assyrian overlords.
2. For Assyria's security, it would be unwise to have an independent and potentially hostile neighbour.²¹
3. It was the practice for Assyrian kings to try to expand the area under their, and the god Aššur's, control.
4. If Babylonia were allowed to gain its freedom, other vassals would view it as a sign of Assyrian weakness and be encouraged to revolt.
5. Any Assyrian king who gave up Babylonia might find his position threatened in Assyria itself by those who thought such an action a sign of weakness.

In addition, historically, culturally, and religiously, Assyria and Babylonia were closely linked. Assyrians seem to have respected Babylonian

²⁰ The most practical route from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf ran down the Euphrates, one end passing through Babylonia. Major trade routes ran from Babylonia to Elam (via Dêr) and the Iranian plateau (via Kermanshah).

²¹ This is particularly important because there was no natural barrier between the two countries, because Babylonia was historically a major force in the Near East, and because Babylonia was frequently in alliance with Elam, a perennial foe of Assyria.

culture and scholarship and often adopted Babylonian manners and customs.²² Certainly some Assyrian monarchs appear to have taken personal pleasure in being honoured by the citizens of Babylonian cities and in worshipping in their ancient and highly revered temples (e.g., Esagila in Babylon and Ezida in Borsippa) and they were proud of the benefits they had bestowed upon Babylonian gods and temples. Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II recorded how they had been welcomed by the officials and people of Babylonian cities and been honoured to partake of leftover offerings which had been dedicated to Babylonian gods.²³ Thus, some Assyrians felt that it would be proper for the two countries to be connected politically, whether directly (under the same king) or indirectly (under separate kings but with the king of Babylonia dependent upon the king of Assyria for his position). By equating their tutelary god Aššur with the Babylonian god Anšar, one of Marduk's forbears, they could defend their control of Babylonia on religious grounds. As Anšar, Aššur was of an older generation than Marduk in the divine order; thus, Marduk was subordinate to Aššur and Marduk's realm should be subordinate to Aššur's vicar on earth, the Assyrian king.²⁴

In recognition of Babylonia's importance within the Assyrian empire, Assyrian kings made particular efforts to win the support of its people and it was given special status and privileges. It is true that toward the end of his reign Sennacherib broke with this policy and dealt roughly with Babylonia, but at that time he was acting under severe provocation caused in part by the loss of his son Aššur-nādin-šumi. When Esarhaddon reversed his father's policy toward Babylonia, he endeavoured to blunt any Babylonian criticism of Sennacherib's actions by stressing that Marduk had abandoned Babylon because of the sins of its own people and any Assyrian objection to the restoration of the city by avoiding criticism of Sennacherib and by stating that the gods had indicated their support for the rebuilding by means of omens. Assyria normally ruled subject states either by incorporating them directly into Assyria as provinces or by leaving them as vassal states under their own rulers. For the most part, Babylonia was incorporated into the empire as a unified state, with its own provinces and administrative structure intact,²⁵ and with its own king (though that king was at times also king of Assyria). Some

²² For example, Assyrian royal inscriptions were generally written in a Babylonian literary dialect and Babylonian gods were worshipped in Assyria.

²³ See p. 248 n. 11.

²⁴ However, evidence that this claim was made widely in Babylonia is meagre. The claim that the god Marduk had been begotten by the god Aššur is found in a few of Ashurbanipal's texts from Babylonia (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 232-33:7-9, 242-43:23-26, and 244-45:36-41). On this matter, see chapter 5.

²⁵ Sargon II had divided the land into two parts, one under the governor of Babylon and the other under the governor of Gambūlu (Lie, *Sar.*, pp. 66-67:1); however, there is no evidence that that division remained in effect after his reign.

areas of Babylonia east of the Tigris (Dēr, Laḫīru, and possibly Dūr-Šarrukku) were, however, annexed to Assyria because of their strategic location—they faced Elam and were relatively easily accessible from Assyria. During the reign of Sennacherib after 689, when there was no separate kingship, Babylonia was apparently incorporated directly into the Assyrian empire under the king of Assyria. The importance of Babylonia to the Assyrian rulers is also reflected in the fact that the rulership of Babylonia was the only specific foreign title that the Neo-Assyrian kings generally included in their royal titulary.²⁶

For over one hundred years (c. 730 to 615) the Neo-Assyrian kings attempted to control Babylonia and tried several different methods to govern the country. None of these methods proved effective for long, undoubtedly due in part to the heterogeneous nature of the Babylonian state and population. During the period in question, they tried abolition of the kingship of Babylonia and direct rule by the king of Assyria (Sennacherib), and assumption of the throne of Babylonia by the king of Assyria (Esarhaddon), by the brother of the king of Assyria (Šamaš-šuma-ukīn), and by a third party (Kandalānu);²⁷ and previously, Sennacherib had tried entrusting the rulership of Babylonia to his heir, Aššur-nādin-šumi. The continuing question of how to govern Babylonia was Assyria's "Babylonian problem."²⁸ Assyrian kings were reluctant to delegate authority within Babylonia, and, even when there were kings of Babylonia during the reign of Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian king continued to interfere there.

For Assyria to maintain control over its southern neighbour, Babylonia had to be kept militarily weak and dependent upon Assyria. It should not have any substantial standing military force of its own lest that prompt it to revolt, and Babylonian contacts with foreign countries should be carefully monitored, lest they result in the making of alliances against Assyria. Babylonia should have no central government of its own with any real power and authority in order to prevent united action by the Babylonian people against Assyria.

²⁶ See Seux, *Épithètes*, pp. 278 and 301-303. As titles reflecting the rulership of Babylonia, I include "viceroy of Babylon," "king of Babylon," "king of Karduniaš," and "king of Sumer and Akkad." Esarhaddon also took the titles "king of Egypt" (e.g., Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 36 §24:5), "king of Subartu, Amurrū, Gutium, and vast Ḫatti" (e.g., *ibid.*, p. 80 §53:27-28), "king of the kings of Egypt, Patros, and Kush" (e.g., *ibid.*, p. 72 §44:4-5), and "king of the kings of Dilmun, Magan, and Meluhḫa" (e.g., *ibid.*, p. 80 §53:28-29).

²⁷ As noted above (p. 195), it is possible that Kandalānu was a brother of Ashurbanipal or a member of the Assyrian royal family.

²⁸ With regard to Assyria's "Babylonian problem," see in particular Brinkman, *JCS* 25 (1973): 89-95 and Machinist, *WBJ* 1984-85, pp. 353-64.

Neo-Assyrian kings frequently resettled rebellious and defeated groups far from their original homes as a means of punishment and pacification.²⁹ Before this period began, Babylonia (especially the southern part of the country) had been the area most effected by Assyrian deportations, both with regard to the number of individuals removed and to the frequency of deportations. No contemporary evidence exists of mass deportations from Babylonia during the years 689-627, though Ashurbanipal may have deported some people from Babylonia to Syria-Palestine, quite likely after the rebellion of 652-648. On the contrary, Esarhaddon claims to have returned to Babylon its people who had been enslaved and dispersed after the destruction of the city by Sennacherib.³⁰ No mass atrocities are recorded as having been committed against Babylonians, although bodies of important rebels could be subject to degradation³¹ and, after the capture of Babylon in 648, a number of rebels were killed by cruel methods (see chapter 8).

As discussed in chapter 10, oaths of allegiance were regularly imposed on local officials; they were required to swear loyalty to the Assyrian king and to report to him whatever they saw or heard. Failure to observe the oaths could result in swift punishment. It is possible that attempts were made to educate individual Babylonians in pro-Assyrian views so that they might one day hold official positions, but this is not absolutely proven as yet. At times individual Babylonians were held in Assyria, presumably as hostages for their families' or tribes' loyalty; however, there is no evidence how widespread this practice was. For the most part, Assyria seems to have relied upon the quick response of its troops stationed in nearby Assyria to deal with any unrest in Babylonia that the local authorities could not handle.³² There is no clear evidence of Assyrian garrisons in Babylonia itself.³³ Thus they fostered and

²⁹ On the Assyrian practice of deportation, see Oded, *Deportations*, and note Postgate, *BiOr* 38 (1981): 636-38. Deportations were also used to populate other areas (e.g., vulnerable border areas) and to provide labourers for imperial building projects.

³⁰ Ezra 4:9-10 and Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 25 §11 episode 37. Note also the unnamed Assyrian king (Sennacherib or Ashurbanipal?) mentioned in 2 Kings 17:24 who settled people from Babylon and Cutha in Samaria and the reference to people having been settled in Syria-Palestine by Esarhaddon in Ezra 4:2, though where they came from is not stated.

³¹ For example, the head of Nabû-bēl-šumāti was hung around the neck of Nabû-qātē-šabat (Streick, *Asb.*, pp. 60-63 vii 39-50). Rich rewards could be promised for the capture of prominent rebels (*ABL* 292).

³² Note however Ashurbanipal's delay in sending troops to aid Babylon against Urtak's invasion (see above, p. 120). The necessity of having to wait for troops to arrive from Assyria to deal with disturbances may not have found favour with Babylonians. Military forces from the nearby provinces of Arrapha and Zamū, led by their governors, were active in Babylonia during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt (e.g., *ABL* 754). Parpola (*ARINH*, p. 132) points out that the seats of office of these two governors were situated along watercourses by which they could quickly reach Babylonia.

³³ See chapter 10; though as suggested there, Nippur may well have been garrisoned after the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt.

maintained an efficient intelligence-gathering network (both official and unofficial) to report in detail on conditions in Babylonia.³⁴ Although the Assyrian kings attempted to keep the Babylonian populace quiet by various means, on occasion military campaigns were necessary. While these were usually directed against disruptive tribal groups, they could also be against rebellious urban citizenry. On occasion, the Assyrians had recourse to siege warfare to reduce Babylonian cities. A siege necessitated tying up a large body of troops for a considerable period of time, as for instance for the two-year siege of Babylon during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, and was ordered only when other means had failed.³⁵

It may have been a policy of the Assyrian kings to facilitate control of Babylonia by attempting to divide that country internally, or at least to take advantage of already existing divisions, and in doing so to champion the cause of the urban populations as opposed to that of the tribal groups. Prior to the period 689-627, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II had described themselves in their inscriptions as persons who had saved Babylonia from tribal groups, and emissaries of Tiglath-pileser III may have attempted to incite Babylonian city dwellers against Chaldeans by appealing to the citizens of Babylon to abandon Nabû-mukīn-zēri because he was a Chaldean.³⁶ The cities were undoubtedly chosen for special consideration since the urban populations were naturally less prone to rebellion than the tribal groups and formed the core (and majority?) of the Babylonian state and since the city dwellers were the bearers of the classical Babylonian culture which at least some Assyrians admired and imitated. It would also be easier to confer favours upon a settled population than on unsettled, or partially settled, tribes with their own native hierarchical structures. Special privileges, including the exemption from at least some taxes and duties, were granted to the inhabitants of certain towns; temples and fortification works of cities were built or restored; divine statues were refurbished and honoured with sacrificial offerings. While some tribal groups are known to have paid tribute to Esarhaddon, there is no clear evidence of the city populations doing so until after Ashurbanipal's victory over Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in 648. Unconsciously the Assyrians may have championed the urban populations simply because they were more submissive than the tribal groups, but some notion of cause and effect cannot be excluded from consideration. It must be stressed again,

³⁴ See Brinkman in *Power and Propaganda*, p. 235.

³⁵ See Eph'al, *HBI*, pp. 93-94.

³⁶ Saggs, *Iraq* 17 (1955): 23-26 and pl. 4 no. 1:14-16; the exact interpretation of the relevant section of this letter is uncertain. In addition, in his royal inscriptions, Esarhaddon pointed out that it was Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, a member of the Bīt-Yakin tribe and governor of the Sealand, who had opposed Ur in 680, and the Chaldean Bīt-Dakkūri who had seized control of land belonging to the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa (Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 46-48 and 52 §27 episodes 4 and 12).

however, that we are dependent upon Assyrian or Assyrian-oriented sources for most of our information; and this may render our view of conditions and events unreliable or distorted. Policy alone may not have prompted the Assyrian monarchs to treat these cities well; as mentioned earlier, many may have admired Babylonian culture, as exemplified in these ancient cities.

III. Elam and Babylonia

The general purpose of Elam's policy toward Babylonia was clearly to remove it from Assyrian control and to eliminate it as a possible threat to Elam's own security. Elamite kings undoubtedly wished to gain an ally against powerful Assyria and to turn Babylonia into a buffer state between itself and Assyria, or at least to keep Assyria occupied in Babylonia and out of Elam. With its close ties to Babylonia,³⁷ Elam wanted to draw that country into its own sphere of influence and, in particular, to gain control over the border region (in particular the Sealand and the area of the Gambūlu). The border between Elam and Babylonia had always been fluid and penetrable as tribes moved to exploit the natural resources of the region, as marshes expanded and receded, as towns and groupings changed their formal and informal allegiance, and as military ventures proved successful or unsuccessful.³⁸ To these ends Elam on occasion invaded Babylonia, provided military aid and other support for rebel movements, and gave refuge to rebel fugitives, as it had done in the past. Not all of their interventions in Babylonia were caused by anti-Assyrian feeling alone; one must not ignore the possibility that some were motivated simply by greed. Certainly Elamite kings often accepted a monetary inducement for their support of Babylonian rebels.

Nevertheless, Elamite kings were not unswerving in their policy of aiding anti-Assyrian movements in Babylonia. During the seventh century, there was a rapid turn-over in rulers of Elam, the result of illnesses, foreign invasions, and internal revolts. This, and the Elamite system of having several rulers at the same time, prevented Elam from maintaining any one policy with regard to Assyria and Babylonia for a long time.³⁹ In addition, Elamite rulers undoubtedly realized that at times it would have been sheer

³⁷ Note for example the presence of Babylonians resident in Hādalu (=Hidalu) and forming an assembly there (Leichty, *AnSt* 33 [1983]: 153-55 and pl. 34). Leichty suggests that these Babylonians had gone to the city when Ashurbanipal put Tammartu on the throne there.

³⁸ With regard to the border between Babylonia and Elam between 750 and 625, see Brinkman in *Steve Festschrift*, pp. 199-207.

³⁹ The control which Elamite kings had over their own subjects and territory fluctuated. Babylonian rebels who had taken refuge in Elam and their Elamite supporters could even flout the Elamite king (see *ABL* 281).

folly to risk incurring Assyrian wrath—when Assyria was strong, united, and unoccupied elsewhere and, possibly, when there was internal dissension or division in Elam itself. Elamites were even willing to turn to Assyrian kings for aid against their own countrymen. Humban-nikaš II and Tammaritu both sought aid from Ashurbanipal in their efforts to gain control of Elam. Elamite supporters of deposed rulers or pretenders to the throne are likely to have aided the Assyrians in restoring them.⁴⁰ In order to win favour with Assyria, Elamites had killed the Babylonian rebel leader Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir when he sought refuge in Elam in the time of Humban-ḫaltaš II. In addition, Urtak maintained peaceful relations with Assyria in the time of Esarhaddon and at the beginning of Ashurbanipal's reign and Indabibi contemplated establishing friendly relations in 649. Still, both Urtak and Indabibi eventually supported Babylonian rebels, and the action of Humban-ḫaltaš II may have been prompted by the knowledge that Assyrian troops were advancing south. Around the time of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, several persons ruled Elam in rapid succession, each having taken the throne after the violent deposition of his predecessor; but each new monarch aided the rebels in Babylonia.

Depending upon their personal loyalties, Babylonians could see in Elam an enemy or a helper. Elamite kings could send troops into Babylonia, at times aiding Babylonians against Assyria and at times simply for their own aggrandizement and profit; they could also give refuge to Babylonian rebels or deny it to them. Babylonians seeking outside help against Assyria, or their fellow Babylonians, naturally turned to Elam because that country was its only other neighbour that was also a well-organized state, because it was a perennial foe of Assyria, and because it had been known to provide aid in the recent past (to Merodach-Baladan II and Mušēzib-Marduk). Elamite contacts were particularly close with the tribal groups located along the border, especially the Gambūlu tribe (who at times appear to have been subject to Elam) and the rulers of the Chaldean Bīt-Yakīn (who usually supported or led the anti-Assyrian movements at this time). However, as a result of Assyrian military operations directed against it, and its own internal problems, by the end of the period in question Elam appears to have been effectively destroyed as a political force in the Near East. Elam was no longer able to stand as a barrier between the Mesopotamian lowland and the tribes of the Iranian plateau.

⁴⁰ Reade points out that individuals in Elamite clothing are depicted as fighting alongside Assyrians on reliefs of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (*Iraq* 34 [1972]: 107) and military personnel are known to have accompanied Humban-nikaš II when he fled to Assyria from Teumman (e.g., Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 60-61 iv 74-86).

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

At the end of 689 Babylonia had reached a low point in its political existence. The country was totally controlled by Assyria, and was incorporated directly into the Assyrian empire. There was no longer a "king of Babylon" (even one who was also ruler of Assyria), and Babylon, the venerable capital of the land, lay devastated and abandoned. Finally, the statue of Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon and tutelary god of Babylon, had been destroyed or carried off to Assyria, a fact that was to make the celebration of the important New Year's festival impossible for twenty years. During the years 689-627, Babylonia remained weak, disunited, and subject to Assyria. Although revolts did occur sporadically throughout these years, only once was Assyria's domination seriously challenged, during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt of 652-648; even then, Assyria never lost control of all the country and eventually crushed the rebels. Nevertheless, a few short years after this period ended, Babylonia was to rise to its greatest height under the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, to destroy its former overlord, Assyria, and to win from that country hegemony over western Asia.

Our knowledge of Babylonia and its political history during these important years is uneven, even though this is one of the better documented periods in Babylonian history. Only two portions of this period are fairly well known—the reign of Esarhaddon (in particular the second half of his reign) and the years around the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt. While various types of sources provide information for this study, most of the textual sources are Assyrian or Assyrian-oriented in character; thus, a pro-Assyrian bias is inevitably reflected in our data.

Babylonia's internal disunity was its major weakness, making it difficult for the country to unite behind one leader. A number of different population groups made up the Babylonian state and these had varying backgrounds and lifestyles, interests and purposes. Because of Assyrian and Elamite interference and internal rebellions, not one Babylonian family had held the kingship of Babylonia for any length of time in the recent past. Thus there was no one individual or family who could make a claim to the throne which would find ready acceptance by the people as a whole and who could unite the country against the Assyrians. Only once did a large segment of the population unite against Assyria, and then it was behind a brother of the

Assyrian king. It is characteristic of this period that it was the tribal groups, especially the Chaldean tribes, who were the most active in opposing Assyria. In particular it was the ruling family of the Chaldean Bīt-Yakīn tribe, the descendants of the infamous rebel Merodach-Baladan II, who led the opposition. With their base in the marshes of the Sealand, their close relations with Elam, and their reasonable claim to the throne of Babylonia,¹ rulers of the Bīt-Yakīn were the natural leaders of the resistance. Also characteristic of this period was a close connection between Elam and Babylonian rebels, a continuation of the arrangement attested earlier in the first millennium.

Assyrian kings made a special effort to reconcile Babylonians to Assyrian rule, by experimenting with various methods of governing the southern kingdom, and by showing favour to its cities, people, and gods. Although a large number of rebels were executed after the revolts of 694-689 and 652-648, no mass atrocities committed by Assyrian troops against Babylonians are recorded for the years 689-627 and no large-scale deportations are known to have occurred. Yet, despite Babylonia's internal divisions, its lack of a militaristic tradition, and its vulnerable position in relation to its powerful northern neighbour, Babylonia remained restless and refused to be absorbed by Assyria. Although the two countries possessed similar cultures, and their histories had been connected for many centuries, Babylonia had a long history as a separate, independent state—albeit under numerous short-lived dynasties of various origins. Indeed, it was only after about 730 that Assyrian kings had seriously tried to make Babylonia part of their empire.² Thus, nationalistic sentiment on the part of the Babylonians was undoubtedly a major cause of their resistance to Assyrian overlordship. Despite various attempts to find a solution to the thorny problem of how to govern Babylonia, the Assyrian kings could not find an answer which met Babylonian approval and was effective for any length of time. The knowledge that Assyrian kings put Assyria's interests before those of Babylonia, and that Assyrian-appointed kings in Babylonia did not have real independence of action, would have been galling to the Babylonians. Some jarring of sensitivities may have resulted simply from daily contact between conquered and conqueror. Possibly the Babylonians even regarded their northern neighbours as their cultural inferiors since the Assyrians esteemed, and frequently imitated, Babylonian customs while the Babylonians did not tend to adopt Assyrian

¹ Although both Erība-Marduk and Merodach-Baladan II of the Bīt-Yakīn tribe had been kings of Babylonia, their reigns had not been successive and other individuals had been acknowledged as rulers of the country in the meantime. This meant that that family's claim to the throne could be disputed.

² Tiglath-pileser III assumed the kingship of Babylonia in 729 after defeating Nabû-mukin-zēri (Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 i 19-23).

ways or manners. The harsh actions of Assyrian kings in the past (such as the large-scale deportations of tribal groups, the destruction of Babylon, and the removal of Babylonian gods to Assyria) probably continued to rankle in Babylonian hearts in spite of Esarhaddon's actions to redress Babylonia's grievances. Assyria's troubles elsewhere (for example in Egypt) may have provided the occasion for those opposed to Assyrian rule to revolt. Likely some of the anti-Assyrian feeling was fed or fomented by individuals who hoped to use Babylonian antipathy toward Assyria as a springboard to increase their own power and wealth. Elamite kings undoubtedly encouraged anti-Assyrian feeling in Babylonia in order to weaken Assyria's hold over that country and thereby to make their own positions more secure. These are only a few suggestions that might help explain Babylonia's continual opposition to Assyrian domination during the years 689-627; none can be proven, though all may have been present.³

The last twenty years of the period are poorly known. The conditions that were developing in Babylonia and the Near East in general during these years led to the rise of Nabopolassar, who became king of Babylonia in 626, and to the beginning of Assyria's decline. A major cause of Assyria's rapid collapse between 627 and 609 was probably the fact that Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal had over-extended the strength of Assyria with their conquests of Egypt and Elam. Neither country was held by the Assyrians for long; it was really only while the Assyrian army was present on their soil that they formed part of the Assyrian empire. Assyria proper was just not large enough to maintain this empire,⁴ and the lengthy revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn probably strained its men and resources to the limit. For four long years Assyria was kept occupied in Babylonia, and losses in men and equipment may well have been high in view of the intensity of the fighting. In the three or four years immediately following the fall of Babylon in 648, Assyria was forced to expend further time and energy dealing with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's erstwhile allies, Elam and the Arabs, and with others who had made use of Assyria's preoccupation with the rebellion in Babylonia to declare their own independence (the cities of Akko and Ušû). The Assyrians are not known to have conducted any major campaigns during the remainder of the reign of Ashurbanipal. While this may be simply because we have not found the Assyrian king's annals for the later part of his reign, it also may be because no important campaigns took place during that time. Ashurbanipal's demonstration of Assyria's power may have cowed its vassals into

³ In addition, there is the possibility that Babylonians were conscripted into the Assyrian army, or compelled to serve in Assyria's wars, on two or three occasions (see chapter 10 on the use and meaning of the phrase *bīḫirtu beḫēru*); this practice would surely not have found favour in Babylonia.

⁴ Assyria had to draw upon non-Assyrians for military support.

submission and made its neighbours wary of provoking Assyria's anger. At the same time, however, Assyria may well have been worn out from dealing with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and his allies, and needed time to recover militarily and politically and to reaffirm and strengthen its position over the lands it held. Of course, in the years following 627, the internal struggle over the Assyrian throne between Aššur-etil-ilāni, Sīn-šumu-līšir, and Sīn-šarra-iškun, and the emergence of a new and powerful foe in Iran, the Medes, were the final events which doomed the Assyrian empire. Olmstead describes Esarhaddon's restoration of Babylon and his later division of the empire between Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn as colossal blunders leading to the collapse of the empire. He concludes that the Assyrians "had not, save in Sennacherib alone, rulers who had the moral courage to force Babylon to come within the system [the Assyrian imperial organization]. Babylon remained an open sore and from this infection of the body politic came destruction ...".⁵ We can basically agree with this view. It was in large part Assyria's inability to find an effective and long-lasting method of controlling Babylonia and its resurrection of Babylon, a long-time foe and rival, which led to Assyria's downfall. However, we are speaking with the benefit of hindsight. A Babylonia lacking its ancient capital and incorporated politically within the empire might still have found sufficient courage and support to continue its opposition to Assyria. Indeed, Assyrian oppression may have strengthened Babylonia's will to oppose its northern neighbour. Esarhaddon's actions were noble and innovative measures which under certain circumstances might have succeeded in making Assyrian dominion palatable to the Babylonians.

Although Babylonian culture exerted great influence on Assyria, almost no Assyrian influence on Babylonia can be detected at this time in spite of the fact that Babylonia had been under Assyrian rule, off and on, since the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Babylonia was affected greatly by Assyria, but influenced little. There is even little direct evidence of trade between Assyria and Babylonia during the years 689-627 although goods must have moved from one country to the other, at least in the form of booty, gifts, and taxes.

Babylonia remained in political eclipse throughout the period 689-627, but Babylonian life and culture flourished, continuing an improvement in conditions already detectable in the last part of the previous century. Temples were built or restored; religious and scholarly works were composed or copied; and the Sumerian language continued to be used for some royal inscriptions. Astronomical sightings were made and recorded; indeed, the oldest astronomical diary known was written during this period. The

⁵ *American Political Science Review* 12 (1918): 76-77. He also suggests that if Ashurbanipal had destroyed Babylon after he took the city in 648 the fall of the Assyrian empire might have been indefinitely postponed.

increasing number of documents attesting to business transactions likely mirrors improving economic conditions in the land. Although numerous texts indicate the continuing importance of the cuneiform script and the Akkadian language, it is probable that Aramaic was continuing to make inroads as the everyday language of the people.⁶ The population of parts of Babylonia may have increased in size,⁷ and at Babylon and Ur evidence of increased prosperity may be detected in the archaeological remains.⁸

Although 689-627 may be characterized as a period of political weakness and disunity in Babylonia, a time when the land was dominated by its northern neighbour Assyria, it was also a period of internal vigour and a turning point in Babylonia's existence. During this low point in Babylonia's history, momentum was building up which was to result in the founding of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom by Nabopolassar. This was undoubtedly sparked in part by an increasingly common and negative response to Assyria, a response which helped unite the heterogeneous population of Babylonia. Many factors, nationalistic feeling undoubtedly not the least, engendered a growing resistance to Assyrian rule; and, just as it was tribal groups who had led Babylonia to its most important periods in the past (the Amorites in the Old Babylonian period and the Kassites in the Middle Babylonian), so it was the Chaldean tribes who were the main champions of Babylonian independence during these years.

⁶ With regard to the use and influence of the Aramaic language in Babylonia, see p. 48.

⁷ See chapter 2.

⁸ In the Merkes quarter at Babylon, the level identified by the excavator as representing the rebuilding by Esarhaddon and his successors had more substantial remains than had the "pre-destruction" level (see chapter 5). It must be pointed out, however, that the dating of the various levels cannot be considered proven because clear chronological linkage is lacking. During the time of Sīn-balassu-iqbi as governor of Ur, an ambitious building programme was carried out at that city. This was the first major building activity attested at Ur since the Kassite period.

APPENDIX A

Babylonian Economic Texts: A Tabular Summary

The following four tables (nos. 3-6) summarize the information about Babylonian economic documents dated by the regnal years of Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and Kandalānu which is presented by J.A. Brinkman and D.A. Kennedy in their study "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721-626 B.C.," *JCS* 35 (1983): 1-90, with supplement in *JCS* 38 (1986): 99-106.¹ Full bibliographies for each document are given in that study. Because there are only three documents dated by the regnal years of Sennacherib from the period of concern, no table was prepared for these; they are discussed in Appendix C.

¹ Abbreviated as *B-K* in this study.

TABLE 3

Babylonian Economic Texts
Dated by the Regnal Years of Esarhaddon

See *B-K* I.1-28. Note also *ibid.*, In.1-8. In particular, In.1 refers to texts which may date to 678 and 677 from Babylon and Borsippa respectively (*OECT* 10 393 and BM 26728), and In.2, In.6, and In.7 may list documents coming from Uruk during this period (Ellis, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 63 no. 26; W. 21339; and *TCL* 13 211, *BIN* 1 114, and PTS 2981).

* Indicates that the number includes a set of duplicates (both are counted).

¹ GN written once as BAL.TIL.KI (80-B-12:35 [B-K I.4]) and once as URU lib-bi URU (Strassmaier, 8^e Congrès, no. 3:14 [B-K I.7]). While these texts were composed in Assyria, they are Babylonian documents in form; the first document was found at Babylon.

² GN written URU gan-na-a-ti (BM 55453:15 [B-K I.27]). The document describes the sale of a house located in GARIM? du-un-ni-EDIN (line 4); Zadok thinks that Dunni-šeri was located near Babylon (*RGTC* 8, p. 121). Gannāti could be connected with the town of Gan(n)anāti located in the region of the Diyala river (Unger in *RLA* 3, pp. 139-40 and Parpola, *Toponyms*, p. 129). Cf. also Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 192 sub Kannatu?

³ Šapiya may be located in the area of Uruk since the texts (BM 118970 and duplicate BM 118976 [B-K I.22-23]) dated here deal with a house in Uruk and since the head of the Bīt-Amukāni tribe, Ea-zēra-qīša, witnessed the transaction. It is probably to be identified with the town written in Neo-Assyrian as Sapiya (Sapē) and located in Bīt-Amukāni (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, p. 53:42-47; see also Parpola, *Toponyms*, pp. 304-305 and Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 287) and/or with the town by the name of Ša-pi-Bēl, or Sapi-Bēl (see Zadok, *WO* 16 [1985]: 38).

	681 - acc. year	680 - year 1	679 - year 2	678 - year 3	677 - year 4	676 - year 5	675 - year 6	674 - year 7	673 - year 8	672 - year 9	671 - year 10	670 - year 11	669 - year 12	unknown/uncertain	TOTAL
Assur ¹			1		1										2
Babylon			1	1	2		1								5
Borsippa						1	1							1	3
Dilbat		2*					2	1	2	1					8
Gannāti ²														1	1
Nippur							1								1
Sippar							1								1
Šapiya ³									2*						2
Uruk				1			1	1	2						5
unknown/ uncertain	1														1
TOTAL	1	2	2	2	3	1	6	3	6	1				2	29

TABLE 4

Babylonian Economic Texts
Dated by the Regnal Years of Ashurbanipal

	669 - acc. year	668 - year 1	667 - year 2	666 - year 3	665 - year 4	664 - year 5	663 - year 6	662 - year 7	661 - year 8	660 - year 9	659 - year 10	658 - year 11	657 - year 12	656 - year 13	655 - year 14	654 - year 15	653 - year 16	652 - year 17	651 - year 18	650 - year 19	649 - year 20	648 - year 21	647 - year 22	646 - year 23	645 - year 24	644 - year 25	643 - year 26	642 - year 27	641 - year 28	640 - year 29	639 - year 30	638 - year 31	637 - year 32	636 - year 33	635 - year 34	634 - year 35	633 - year 36	632 - year 37	631 - year 38	630 - year 39	629 - year 40	628 - year 41	627 - year 42	unknown/uncertain	TOTAL
Borsippa																						3																						3	
Dilbat																							1																					1	
Iltuk(?) ¹																				1																								1	
Ninā																			1																									1	
Nippur					1													2*		2*	1						2		1			2		1		1	3	2	1				3	22	
Ša-šur(u)-Adad ²																					1																							1	
Ur																					1																							1	
Uruk	4 ^o																	2	1	1		2																							10
unknown																																			1									1	2
TOTAL	4				1													4	2	4	2	6	1				2		1			2		1	1	1	3	2	1					4	42

See B-K J.1-42. Note also *ibid.*, Jn.1-9. In particular, Jn.8 (Pohl, *AnOr* 9 13), dated at Uruk, probably comes from Ashurbanipal's twenty-second year.

* Indicates that the number includes a set of duplicates (both are counted).

° Indicates that the number includes a set of triplicates (all three are counted).

¹ GN written URU *il?i-tuk* (*AnOr* 9 4 vi 43 [B-K J.15]). The town is probably to be identified with the town by this name located in the area of the Bīt-Dakkūri (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, p. 52:38; see Zakok, *RGTC* 8, p. 179 and *WO* [1985]: 57).

² Ša-šur(u)-Adad is likely to be identified with Ša-iššūr-Adad, a town of the Bīt-Amukāni (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, p. 53:42; see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 12 sub Ālu-Ša-iššūr-Adad and *WO* 16 [1985]: 60).

TABLE 5

Babylonian Economic Texts
Dated by the Regnal Years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn

See *B-K* K.1-175. Two kudurrus have been included—Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, pp. 303-306, from Sippar, and *BBS*: 10 (*B-K* K.163 and K.169). Note also *B-K* Kn.1-12. In particular, Kn.2 (*UET* 4 200) likely comes from Ur around this time, and Kn.6 and Kn. 12 (Durand, *DCEPHE* 1, HE 469 and BM 30180) likely come from Uruk.

* Indicates that the number includes a set of duplicates (both are counted).

¹ Zadok (*RGTC* 8, p. 109) suggests that a reading Bit-S/Šamqata is equally possible. The one document composed at this site (Jakob-Rost, *FB* 12 [1970]: 54-55 no. 5 [*B-K* K.87]) was found at Babylon.

² GN written ID *hi-il?-ti* (NCBT 1003:19 [*B-K* K.80]). The place may have been located near Uruk, in Bit-Amukāni (see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 160).

³ Zadok (*RGTC* 8, p. 160) suggests this town may have lain not far from Babylon, but gives no reason for this suggestion.

⁴ GN written URU *nu-uh?-šā-ni-ti* (BM 118986:24 [*B-K* K.15]). Zadok (*RGTC* 8, p. 244) lists two places by this name (both preceded by GARIM, not URU), one located near Uruk and the other possibly located near Borsippa. The town in question may have been situated near Borsippa since two members of the family Ilūta-bāni (abbreviated form of Ea-ilūta-bāni) appear in the document, since Nabū (the patron deity of Borsippa) is mentioned in a high percentage of the names of individuals in the document, and since two of the individuals involved in the transaction also appear in *TCL* 12 12 (*B-K* K.79), a text composed at nearby Babylon. (With regard to the family Ea-ilūta-bāni of Borsippa, see F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa: La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni. Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII^e au V^e siècle av. J.-C.*, Hautes Études Orientales 25 [Geneva, 1989].) BM 118986 is being prepared for publication by the author.

⁵ See n. 2 to Table 4.

⁶ GN written [...] *zu-uh-ri-ni* (BM 50695+75978 i 11' [*B-K* K.78]). In BM 78107, dated at Babylon in the nineteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (*B-K* K.126), land which is being sold is described as being inside URU *zu-uh-ri-nu* (line 2); thus this town may have been located in the general area of Babylon. See Zadok, *WO* 16 (1985): 56.

	668 - acc. year	667 - year 1	666 - year 2	665 - year 3	664 - year 4	663 - year 5	662 - year 6	661 - year 7	660 - year 8	659 - year 9	658 - year 10	657 - year 11	656 - year 12	655 - year 13	654 - year 14	653 - year 15	652 - year 16	651 - year 17	650 - year 18	649 - year 19	648 - year 20	unknown/uncertain	TOTAL
Babylon		2	3*			1	3	1	2	1		5	2	2*	8*	7	7		4	13	2	11	74
Bit-Uqata ¹															1								1
Borsippa		2			2			1	1		1		8*	2	1		1	1	2		3	2	27
Cutha		1											1										2
Dilbat			2					1		1				2	1	1	1					2	11
Id Hiltu(?) ²															1								1
Himeri ³													1										1
URU hu-ra-x-x																1							1
Hursagkalama										1			1										2
Kish		1											2										3
Kissik																					1		1
Nagītu																1							1
Nippur									1				2	1				2				1	7
Nuḥṣānītu(?) ⁴						1																	1
Sippar																					1		1
Ša-šur-Adad ⁵													1										1
Ur									1		2	1		1									5
Uruk		1	1				1	2		3	5*		2*			2*						1	18
Zuḥrinu(?) ⁶															1								1
unknown/ uncertain											1			1	2	1	1		2		1	15	24
TOTAL		7	6		2	2	4	5	5	5	10	6	20	9	15	13	10	3	8	13	6	34	183

TABLE 6

Babylonian Economic Texts
Dated by the Regnal Years of Kandalānu

See *B-K* L.1-203. The assignment of two of the documents to Sippar (Sotheby Cat. 14-II-1887 no. 80 [year 10] and Oppert, *RA* 1 [1886]: 3 [year 12]; *B-K* L.48 and L.64) and one to Dilbat (Langdon, *JRAS* 1928, p. 321 [year 17]; *B-K* L.113) is uncertain. Note also *B-K* Ln.1 (Ashmolean 1924.2346).

* Indicates that the number includes a set of duplicates (both are counted).

	(648 - acc. year)	647 - year 1	646 - year 2	645 - year 3	644 - year 4	643 - year 5	642 - year 6	641 - year 7	640 - year 8	639 - year 9	638 - year 10	637 - year 11	636 - year 12	635 - year 13	634 - year 14	633 - year 15	632 - year 16	631 - year 17	630 - year 18	629 - year 19	628 - year 20	627 - year 21 ¹	(626 - year 22 ²)	unknown/uncertain	TOTAL
Babylon		1				1	4*	1		1	2		1	3	4*	6*	3	5	5*	1	2	3	1	14	58
Bit-Burise															1										1
Bit-Iltammeš-ilu ³								1																	1
Borsippa					1			2	2	1			1	1	1		1			2		2			14
Dilbat											1		2	1				1		2*				1	8
Ḫurad																					1				1
Ḫursagkalama														1					1						2
URU KID-ra.KI										1															1
Marad										1															1
Sippar							1	1			3*		1				1			1	6	2	1		17
URU sur-x-x																								1	1
Šibtī-ša-šakni ⁴																					1				1
Uruk				1	1		3			1		1		1	1	1	1	2							13
unknown/uncertain		2	2				1		4	8	2	6	4	4	4	3	3	3	1	9	8	3		27	94
TOTAL		3	2	1	2	1	9	5	6	13	8	7	9	11	11	10	9	11	7	15	18	10	1	44	213

¹ One text from Babylon (BM 36514 [*B-K* L.160]) is dated "after (the death of) Kandalānu."

² The document (BM 40039 [*B-K* L.163]) is dated "after (the death of) Kandalānu."

³ Possibly one should read Bit-Tammeš-ilu' (*Ē-matam-meš-DINGIR-ū-'*; Pohl, *AnOr* 9 4 v 43 [*B-K* L.23]), with Tammeš referring to the sun god (cf. Zadok, *West Semites*, p. 41). Six separate transactions are recorded on the tablet, four from the reign of Nabopolassar, and one each from the reigns of Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu. They all appear to have been concerned with land in the area of Bit-Dakkūri and thus this place may have been located there.

⁴ Or Šibtī-ša-šakin-māti (URU *ši-ib-ri-ša-LÚ.GAR.KUR*; Weidner, *Afo* 16 [1952-53]: pl. 6 no. 8:16 [*B-K* L.143]). This town may have been located in the region of Sippar (see Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 279).

APPENDIX A

TABLE 6

Babylonian Economic Texts
Dated by the Regnal Years of Kandalānu

		(648 - acc. year)	647 - year 1	646 - year 2	645 - year 3	644 - year 4	643 - year 5	642 - year 6	641 - year 7	640 - year 8	639 - year 9	638 - year 10	637 - year 11	636 - year 12	635 - year 13	634 - year 14	633 - year 15	632 - year 16	631 - year 17	630 - year 18	629 - year 19	628 - year 20	627 - year 21 ¹	(626 - year 22 ²)	unknown/uncertain	TOTAL
			1				1	4*	1		1	2		1	3	4*	6*	3	5	5*	1	2	3	1	14	58
ilu ³						1			1	2	1			1	1	1		1			2		2			1
									2	2	1			1	1	1		1			2		2			14
												1		2	1				1	2*					1	8
																						1				1
												1			1					1						2
											1															1
							1	1				3*	1					1			1	6	2		1	17
i1 ⁴																			*						1	1
tain		2	2		1	1	3	1		4	8	2	6	4	4	4	3	3	2	1	9	8	3			13
		3	2	1	2	1	9	5	6	13	8	7	9	11	11	10	9	11	7	15	18	10	1	44	213	

APPENDIX B

Babylonian Officials

In order to view the numerous letters of the period against their historical background and to arrive at an understanding of the complex inter-relationships at work, it is necessary to determine who held the various important positions within the provincial administration of Babylonia and when they did so. The list presented below is an attempt to help provide such a framework and is composed primarily of officials mentioned in the witness lists of economic texts. These are our most reliable sources of information; in addition to giving the official's name, title, and occasionally family or paternal name, they are usually dated, thus indicating that the individual held office on that particular date. A number of officials who are specifically given official titles in other documents (for example, chronicles, royal inscriptions, and letters) have also been included if we can determine with a reasonable degree of certainty when that person held office. In including individuals in this list and indicating their dates, I have preferred to take a conservative viewpoint. Thus, for example, such important individuals as Nabû-bêl-šumâti and Bêl-ibni are not included because there is no clear statement as to what office(s) they held, even though we may assume that these two held some post over the Sealand (see above).¹ Unless a date is clearly given (as in economic texts and chronicles) or obtainable with only minimal argument (as in the case of Ningal-iddin holding the governorship of Ur in Esarhaddon's first regnal year),² an indication such as "time of RN," "early in the reign of RN," or occasionally "c. 656-653?" is given.³ For the purposes of this list, I have not assumed that an individual held any office at the time he corresponded with the king, even though on (apparently) official business, and even if the individual is known to have held a particular office at some other point in time, unless he is specifically given a title in the letter. In addition, the date a royal inscription was composed or copied is not automatically assumed as the

¹ Leaders of the tribal groups have also not been included nor for the most part have individuals given titles in letters of the period whose place of office and dates are unknown or uncertain.

² No one inscription states that Ningal-iddin held this office on that date; however, one of Esarhaddon's inscriptions states that Ningal-iddin was governor of Ur when that city was besieged by Nabû-zêr-kitti-lîšir and a chronicle says that (Nabû)-zêr-kitti-lîšir camped against Ur in Esarhaddon's first regnal year.

³ I have sometimes proposed a more exact dating in the text, generally in chapters 5-9.

date for an official mentioned in that text. Royal inscriptions tend to describe events covering several years and it cannot be taken for granted that the individual was still in office when the events relating to him were finally recorded.⁴

⁴ In the notes connected with the entries below, references to individuals (usually without their titles) in other texts are sometimes given; such references are to be considered illustrative and not necessarily exhaustive.

1. AKKAD

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| a) Šamaš-danninanni ⁵ | <i>šaknušakin māti</i> | eponymy of Šamaš-danninanni (c. 643-642?) |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|---|

2. BABYLON⁶

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a) Aqara ⁷ | <i>bēl pīhati</i> | eponymy of Aqara (c. 656-653?)
year 15 Kan. (633) |
| Marduk-[...]
[mār?] Saggilaya ⁸
Šamaš-danninanni ⁹ | <i>bēl pīhati</i>

(ša) pīhati | eponymy of Šamaš-danninanni (c. 643-642?)
eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)
year 14 Ššu (654) |
| b) Ubāru ¹⁰ | <i>šākin tēmi</i> | eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)
year 14 Ššu (654) |
| Bēl-lē'i-(kalama)
mār Saggilaya ¹¹
Nabû-nādin-aḫi
mār Egibi ¹²
[PN? mār? Ši?]gū'a ¹³ | <i>šākin tēmi</i>

<i>šākin tēmi</i>

<i>šākin tēmi</i> | time of Kan.
time of Kan.
time of Kan. |
| c) Šuma-iddin ¹⁴ | <i>šatammu</i>
of Esagila | eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?) |

⁵ See Falkner, *Afo* 17 (1954-56): 106, 116 and 118, and note also *BIN* 2 132:10 and 12 (collation J.A. Brinkman). His title is written LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR UR.LKI (5 R pl. 10 x 122); with regard to this title (*šaknušakin māti*), see pp. 225-26 n. 79. He also bore the title (ša) pīhati (LÚ.NAM) of Babylon. For the date of his eponymy, see chapter 3. His tenure as governor of Akkad overlapped that of Kudurru as governor of Uruk; see *BIN* 2 132:12-13 and p. 201.

⁶ It was once thought that the eponym in 655 was the governor of Babylon (e.g., Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 428 and 441), but see Weidner, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): 206-207.

⁷ Frame, *RA* 76 (1982): 160 line 44 and 8-B-10 (B-K S.1-2). See Appendix C.

⁸ Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 5 no. 7:14 (B-K L.87).

⁹ See above, n. 5.

¹⁰ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4 rev. 26 (B-K S.7; name written mār-bar). See Appendix C for other references to this individual and the date of his career.

¹¹ Budge, *ZA* 3 (1888): 228 no. 5:4-5 and *TCL* 12 11:9-10 (B-K K.84 and K.86). Possibly this person is to be identified with Bēl-lē'i-kalama mār Esaggilaya who bore the title *šatammu* in year 6(+) of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; see below.

¹² *VAS* 5 5:28-29 (B-K L.176).

¹³ BM 50749:5' (B-K L.184); [...]gu-ū-a LÚ.GAR.KU TIN.TIR.[KI].

¹⁴ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4 rev. 1 (B-K S.7). He is likely to be identified with the author of TKSM 21/676 (Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 5-13 and 63-64). See also *CT* 54 439:67

? Bēl-lē'i-kalama mār Esaggilaya ¹⁵ [...] x-ia ¹⁶	šatammu of E[sagila?]	year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
d) Rīhānu ¹⁷ Marduk-rā'im-šarri ¹⁸	šatammu qīpu of Esagila	time of Kan. year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
e) Bēl-ētir ¹⁹	qīpu of Esagila dayyānu of Babylon	year 15 Kan. (633) acc. year Ššu (668)

3. BORSIPPA²⁰

a) Šamaš-zēra-iqīša mār Arkāt-ayīti-damqā ²¹	šākin tēmi	year 5 Esar. (676)
Nabû-bēl-šumāti mār Iliya ²²	šākin tēmi	years 6(+), 7, 12, 14, and 15/16 Ššu (662[-]), 661, 656, 654, and 653/652)

¹⁵ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 23 (title not preserved; dated at Sippar) and *BBS* 10 rev. 48 (B-K K.163 and K.169); see above, p. 233. The latter text was composed sometime between the sixth (662) and the ninth (659) years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (collated); the published copies have year nine. This official is possibly to be identified with the governor of Babylon in 654. The restoration E[sagila] was proposed by Landsberger in *Brief*, p. 59. *CAD* 17/1 (Š), p. 163 restores E[zida]; however, Nabû-nādin-šumi is attested as šatammu of Ezida from at least 676 to 653 and the two kudurrus must date from that period.

¹⁶ *VAS* 5 5:30 (B-K L.176). The temple in which he served is not mentioned; however, he is also given the title *ērib būi* of Marduk and is mentioned in the witness list after the governor of Babylon. San Nicolò and Ungnad (*NRVU*, p. 53 no. 33) suggest that the name be read Kabtiya ([Ka]btī-ja).

¹⁷ *BBS* 10 rev. 44 (B-K K.169); see above, p. 232. Landsberger (*Brief*, p. 59) seems to suggest that Nūrānu, who bears the title LÚ q[ī-i]-pi? ... in Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 19 (B-K K.163; dated at Sippar), was also qīpu of Esagila.

¹⁸ Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 5 no. 7:10-11 (B-K L.87).

¹⁹ Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iv 38 and no. 14:39 (name not given in the latter source). The term "judge of Babylon" could refer to a title or to an occupation together with the location at which it was practised. In the second of the two chronicle references, the individual's personal name is not given. If this omission was not a scribal error, it would suggest that the scribe took the term to refer to a particular office.

²⁰ See in particular Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 67-80. A possible qīpu of Ezida in the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn may have been Taklāk?-ana-Nabû?; see below sub 16.

²¹ *BM* 26523:12-13 and Speleers, *Recueil*, no. 278 rev. 6-7 (B-K I.10 and I.28). See also Legrain, *RA* 10 (1913): 68 no. 46:20 (first witness, but without title; B-K K.14, Borsippa year 4 [664] of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn). On the family name (likely an error for Arkāt-ilī-damqā), see Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 68-69.

²² *BBS* 10 rev. 47 (see above, p. 233); *TCL* 12 9:24-25; L 4724 rev. 4 (partially restored; information courtesy F. Joannès); *YBC* 11426:20; *NBC* 8397:23-24; *CBS* 7756 rev. 1-2; *VAT* 13392:24; and *TuM* 2-3 17:25-26 (B-K K.169, K. 23, K.50a, K.55, K.56, K.83, K.151, and K.173). Cf. *ABL* 834; see Frame, *JCS* 36 (1984): 70 n. 16.

Nabû-šuma-ušur mār Iliya ²³	šākin tēmi	years 8, 10, and 12 Ššu (660, 658, and 656)
Marduk-nāšir mār Nūr-Papsukkal ²⁴	šākin tēmi	year 7 Kan. (641)
Nabû-zēru-lišir mār Arkāt-ilī-damqā ²⁵	šākin tēmi	year 13 Kan. (635)
b) Nādinu ²⁶	šatammu of Ezida	eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)
Nabû-nādin-šumi mār Nūr-Papsukkal ²⁷	šatammu of Ezida	year 5 Esar. (676); years 7, 10, 12, 14, and 15/16 Ššu (661, 658, 656, 654, and 653/652)
Nabû-apla-iddin mār Nūr-Papsukkal ²⁸	šatammu of Ezida	year 7 Kan. (641)
Zēr-Bābili mār Nūr-Papsukkal ²⁹	šatammu of Ezida	year 13 Kan. (635)

4. CUTHA

a) Ašaridu ³⁰	šākin tēmi	year 12 Ššu (656)
--------------------------	------------	-------------------

²³ *TuM* 2-3 11:19, 12:21-22, and 23:18' (title not preserved, but fully preserved in duplicate MAH 16232), and *OECT* 12 pl. 22 A 131:23 (B-K K.29, K.34, K.60-61, and K.67). The individual's name could also be read Nabû-nādin-aḫi since in every case the name is written ²⁴AG-MU-ŠEŠ.

²⁴ *TCL* 12 6:27-28 (B-K L.21); he is also given the title of *ērib būi* of Nabû.

²⁵ *TuM* 2-3 14:23-24 (B-K L.68).

²⁶ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4 rev. 2 (B-K S.7).

²⁷ *BM* 26523:14-15 and Speleers, *Recueil*, no. 278 rev. 8 (B-K I.10 and I.28). *TCL* 12 9:26; *TuM* 2-3 12:23-24; L 4724 rev. 2-3 (partially restored; information courtesy F. Joannès); *YBC* 11426:21-22; *NBC* 8397:21-22; *TuM* 2-3 23:19' (title not preserved, but fully preserved in duplicate MAH 16232); *OECT* 12 pl. 22 A 131:24-25; *CBS* 7756 rev. 3-4; *VAT* 13392:22-23; and *TuM* 2-3 17:27-28 (partially restored) (B-K K.23, K.34, K.50a, K.55, K.56, K.60-61, K.67, K.83, K.151, and K.173). He also bore the title *ērib būi* of Nabû (e.g. *TuM* 2-3 12).

²⁸ *TCL* 12 6:29-30 (B-K L.21); he is also given the title *ērib būi* of Nabû.

²⁹ *TuM* 2-3 14:25-26 (B-K L.68).

³⁰ *BM* 33905:5-6 (B-K K.51). Note also *ABL* 254, *CT* 54 510:8-9, and perhaps *CT* 54 37:6-7 and 463:7-8. Quite possibly he is to be identified with Nergal-ašarid mār Sin-karābi-šme who is mentioned in *BBS* 10 rev. 49 (B-K K.169) as LÚ.GAR[...]; that text dates to year 6(+) of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (662 or later). See also p. 233.

5. DĒR³¹

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) Šulmu-bēli-lašme ³² | <i>šaknu/šakin māti</i> | eponymy of Šulmu-bēli-lašme (670) |
| b) Šuma-iddin ³³ | <i>šatammu</i> of Dēr | time of Asb.? |

6. DILBAT³⁴

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a) Šulaya ³⁵ | <i>šakin tēmi</i> | time of Ššu |
| ? Šullumu ³⁶ | <i>šakin tēmi</i> | year 13?[(+)] Kan.
(635?[(−)]) |
| b) Bēl-ētir ³⁷ | <i>šatammu</i> | year 13 Ššu (655) |

³¹ Dēr was actually annexed to Assyria at this time; see p. 222. *ABL* 140, which Waterman suggests may be dated to the reign of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal (*RCAE* 3, p. 62), also refers to a *bēl pīḫati* of Dēr (line 7).

³² See Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 428-29 and 456 and references in Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 224. The first element of the name should perhaps be read *šulum* or *šulam* rather than *šulmu*. The title is written *GAR.KUR de-ri* in the eponym list *KAV* 20 v 10; in other sources the title appears as (LÚ).*GAR.KUR (URU) de-(e)-ri/BAD.AN.KI*.

³³ *ABL* 412:14-15. Could he be the *šatammu* of Dēr mentioned in *ABL* 476 rev. 13-14 (*LAS*, no. 277), which is dated to 671 by Parpola (*LAS* 2, pp. 265-66)?

³⁴ Bēl-īpuš may have been an official (governor?) of Dilbat in the eighth year of Esarhaddon (673); on 21-XI of that year a law case was carried out in the presence of him and the people of Dilbat (*ina pa-ni* EN-DŪ-uš u LÚ *dil-bat.KI-iā*; *TCL* 12 4 [B-K 1.25]).

³⁵ *ABL* 326:8-9; he was appointed governor of Dilbat by Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. According to the letter, which was written during the revolt of 652-648, Šulaya was the grandson of Bēl-iddin, an enemy of Assyria.

³⁶ *BM* 47482:6 (B-K L.170); the exact interpretation of the passage is uncertain.

³⁷ *BM* 29084:1 and *BM* 29086:9 (B-K K.68 and K.71). No temple name follows the title in the former text and it is not sufficiently preserved in the latter for identification ('ēl-x-ix). The texts are from Dilbat and the title is quite likely generic.

7. DŪR-ŠARRUKKU³⁸

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) Nabû-bēla-ušur ³⁹ | <i>šaknu, (šakin māti)</i> | eponymy of Nabû-bēla-ušur (672) |
| Šarru-lū-dāri ⁴⁰ | <i>šaknu/šakin māti</i> | eponymy of Šarru-lū-dāri (664) |

8. KISH

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---|
| a) Nādinu ⁴¹ | <i>šatammu</i> of Kish | eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?) |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---|

³⁸ This assumes that the individuals (all eponym officials) were governors of the Babylonian city Dūr-Šarrukku/Šarrukīn, and not of the Assyrian city Dūr-Šarrukīn (Khorsabad)—a most uncertain assumption since the Assyrian city still existed (see p. 223). The Babylonian city would then have been annexed to Assyria at this time. It has sometimes been stated that either the eponym in 693 or the one in 688 was governor of this city, but the one text suggesting this (*ADD* 400) is now thought to refer to a governor in the post-canonical period (see below). An individual whose name is not preserved, but who was governor of this city, is cited as eponym in *ADD* 425 rev. 23-24 (Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 37:45'-46'): *lim-mu* [...] LÚ.GAR.KUR URU.BAD-^mMAN-^tuk'-[*kulkin*]; the individual in question may be Nabû-bēla-ušur, Šarru-lū-dāri, or some other individual. With regard to post-canonical eponyms, note Kanūnaya, *bēl pīḫati* of URU.BAD-^mMAN-^mGI.NA (possibly just after our period ends; see Dalley and Postgate, *TFS*, pp. 5, 55, and 62-63), and Iddina-[*ahhē?*] (^mSUM.NA.1-[*PAP.MEŠ?*]) *ša* URU.BAD-^mMAN-GI[N] (*ADD* 400 rev. 10-11; see Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 132 for reading and date [part of an archive dated by Falkner to just after our period ends]). Note also Falkner's suggestion that the post-canonical eponym Upāq-ana-Arba'il, assigned by her to 631, was governor of this city (*Afo* 17 [1954-56]: 119). Unnamed *bēl pīḫatis* of Dūr-Šarrukku/Khorsabad are mentioned in *ADD* 27:4 (dated to 667; Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 213) and 372 rev. 4 (name not preserved), and *ABL* 339:7 (*LAS*, no. 293; identified with Nabû-bēla-ušur by Parpola in *LAS* 2, p. 300; reign of Esarhaddon) and 558 rev. 5.

³⁹ See Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 428-29 and 451; Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* 2, no. 6:665; and references in Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 147. The title is written *GAR.BAD-^mMAN-^mGI.NA* in the eponym list *KAV* 20 v 6; in other sources the title appears as LÚ.GAR.KUR (URU) BAD-^mMAN/LUGAL-GIN/*uk-ka/uk-ku*. For the possibility that he returned to office after 664, see p. 234 n. 128.

⁴⁰ See Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 428-29 and 455 and references in Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 219. The title is written *GAR.KUR BAD-^mMAN-^mGI.NA* in the eponym list *KAV* 20 v 20. In other sources it appears as [LÚ.GA]R.KUR URU BAD-^mMAN-GI[N] (*ADD* 377 rev. 10'; see Parpola, *Assur* 2/5 [1979]: 57 for collations) and LÚ.GAR.KUR URU BAD-^mGI.NA (*ADD* 398 rev. 14).

⁴¹ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4 rev. 3 (B-K S.7).

9. LAḪIRU⁴²

a) Atar-ilī ⁴³	šaknu, bēl pīḫati, (šakin māi)	eponymy of Atar-ilī (673)
Nergal-ilaya ⁴⁴	bēl pīḫati	eponymy of Šulmu-bēli- lašme (670)

10. MARAD

a) Šuma-iddin ⁴⁵	šākin tēmi	time of Asb.
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11. NIPPUR

a) DN-aḫḫē-šullim ⁴⁶	šandabakku ⁴⁷	year 3 Esar. (678)
Šuma-iddin ⁴⁸	šandabakku	year 6 Esar. (675)
Nabū-šuma-ēreš ⁴⁹	šandabakku	early in reign of Ššu
Enlil-bāni ⁵⁰	šandabakku	year 7 Ššu (661)

⁴² Laḫīru had actually been annexed to Assyria at this time. Unnamed governors (*bēl pīḫati*) of Laḫīru are mentioned in several other texts, including *ABL* 543 rev. 5' (and parallels 1108 and 1244; time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt) and 558 rev. 4.

⁴³ The name can also be written Atri-ilī, Itri-ilī, and Itri. He is described as GAR *la-ḫi-ri* in the eponym list KAV 20 v 4 and elsewhere as LÚ.EN.NAM (*ša*)/LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR/URU *la-ḫi-raḫirru*. He, or a similarly named individual, was called *ša rēši* of the crown prince of Babylon in 670 (*ADD* 625:13-14). See Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 428-29 and 445; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 64 §27; *LAS* 2, p. 271 and n. 489; Cogan, *Afo* 31 (1984): 72; Kwasman, *NALD*, pp. 63-64; and the references in Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 47.

⁴⁴ *ADD* 625:1-2 (LÚ.EN.NAM *ša* KUR *la-ḫi-ri*; Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 46).

⁴⁵ *ABL* 238:9; likely from before the revolt of 652-648. Enlil-bāni (of Nippur) refers to "Šuma-iddin whom the king, my lord, sent to be governor of Marad" (*ana šākin tēmūti ša Marad*).

⁴⁶ Grayson, *Chronicles*, nos. 1 iv 1-2 and 14:10-11.

⁴⁷ For the reading *šandabakku* for LÚ.GÚ.EN.NA, see p. 225 n. 77. The *šandabakku* was described as the *šaknu* of Nippur in *ABL* 287 rev. 2-3. It is assumed here that every *šandabakku* was an official at Nippur.

⁴⁸ Grayson, *Chronicles*, nos. 1 iv 14-15 and 14:19. He was apparently also governor in 676; see *CT* 54 22 rev. 1 (collated by Brinkman in *Or.* NS 46 [1977]: 318 sub. 24), dated to the year after the capture of Sidon (obv. 13-15), i.e., 676.

⁴⁹ He was one of those inciting Urtak to invade Babylonia, likely in 664 (see p. 119 and Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 56-61 iv 18-63).

⁵⁰ BM 78903 rev. 12'-13' (B-K Kn.9); final element of the name written *-ba-na*. Note also the following letters written by him: *ABL* 238, 239, 292 (restore names of addressees to read ^mEN.[LÚ.L-ba-ni] ù LÚ.EN.[LÚ.L.KI.MEŠ GAL].MEŠ ù TUR.MEŠ [IR.MEŠ-ia]), 617+699 (restore names of addressees to read ^mEN.LÚ.L-b[*a*?-ni] ^mAN.ŠAR-EN-GAR-in ù LÚ.'EN'.[LÚ.L.KI.MEŠ]; possibly an error for Aššur-bēla-taqin [cf. *ABL* 238]), 1465 and *CT* 54 15 (*ABL* 240+); note also *ABL* 797:16-18 and possibly *ABL* 1124 rev. 8.

12. SEALAND⁵¹

a) (Nabū)-zēr-kitti-lišir	šaknu	year 1 Esar. (680)
mār Marduk-apla-iddina ⁵²		
Na'id-Marduk	(šaknu)	time of Esar.
mār Marduk-apla-iddina ⁵³		
? Nabū-ētir ⁵⁴	šaknu	time of Esar.?

13. SIPPAR⁵⁵

a) Nabū-nāšir ⁵⁶	šatammu of Sippar	eponymy of Ubārū (early in reign of Esar.?)
Šulaya	šatammu of Ebabbar	year 6 Kan. (642)
mār Baliḫ-na'id ⁵⁷		
[...]x ⁵⁸	šatammu of Ebabbar	year 9 Kan. (639)

⁵¹ In addition to the individuals listed below, it seems likely that Nabū-bēl-šumāi mār Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-Baladan II) became governor of the Sealand at some point before the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt (see above, pp. 127-28). He was expelled from the Sealand during the revolt by Bēl-ibni, who too is likely to have held some office over that province (see above, pp. 179-80). Note also Bēl-ibni's father, Nabū-kudurri-ušur, to whom Ashurbanipal "gave the Sealand" (*ABL* 1106 rev. 13'-14').

⁵² Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iii 39-42 (name abbreviated and paternal name not given) and Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 33 §21:21 and pp. 46-48 §27 episode 4; his title is written (LÚ).GAR KUR *tam-tim*. See also *ABL* 589, 965, 1248, and *CT* 54 22. (Marduk-apla-iddina is Merodach-Baladan II.)

⁵³ Esarhaddon appointed Na'id-Marduk as the successor of Nabū-zēr-kitti-lišir over the Sealand (likely in 680; Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 47 §27 episode 4 ii 58-64; see also *ibid.*, p. 121 §109 sub 680/79 Aa). For the possibility that he remained in office until at least 673, see p. 89 n. 126. He was author of *ABL* 917; see also *ABL* 223 (*LAS*, no. 30), 576, 839, and 1114. (Marduk-apla-iddina is Merodach-Baladan II.)

⁵⁴ *ABL* 540 rev. 6-7 (title written LÚ.GAR KUR *tam-tim*). See above, p. 86.

⁵⁵ For the officials of Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian period, see San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, pp. 33-39 and Frame, *JAOS* 104 (1984): 750. For a possible governor of this city in the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, see p. 234 n. 128.

⁵⁶ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4 rev. 4 (B-K S.7). Dietrich (*WO* 4 [1967-68]: 237-38) argues that this individual is also mentioned in *CT* 54 170:7 (^mAG-ÜR-ir LÚ.SA.TAM? ...). Although this is possible, the letter could be referring to the *šatammu* at Uruk by this name. Should the official at Sippar be identified with the Nabū-nāšir mār Baliḫ-na'id mentioned in the witness list of the kudurrū from Sippar dated to the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 24; see above p. 233)? Note that the next individual known to have been *šatammu* at Sippar, Šulaya, was also mār Baliḫ-na'id.

⁵⁷ Oppert, *RA* 1 (1886): 4:7-8 (B-K L.16); family name written ^mILLAT-I.

⁵⁸ BM 50186:2 (B-K L.41); the traces of the name are as follows: (collation courtesy of G.J.P. McEwan).

Šamaš-mudammiq ⁵⁹	šatammu of Ebabbar	year 20 Kan. (628)
b) Šamaš-rā'im-šarri ⁶⁰	qīpu	years 6 and 9 Kan. (642 and 639)
Bēl-īpuš ⁶¹	qīpu of Ebabbar	years 20 and 21 Kan. (628 and 627)
14. UR		
a) Ningal-iddin ⁶²	šaknu	year 1 Esar. (680) and years 8 and 12 of Ningal-iddin (as governor or Ur)
Sîn-balāssu-iqbi mār Ningal-iddin ⁶³	šakkanakku	years 10 and 11 Ššu (658 and 657)
Sîn-šarra-ušur mār Ningal-iddin ⁶⁴	šakkanakku	time of Ššu

⁵⁹ PRS no. 10 rev. 1-2 (information courtesy of M. Gallery Kovacs) and BM 75779:6-7 (B-K L.145a and L.151); the exact reading of the second part of the name (written -SIG₅-ig) is not certain.

⁶⁰ Oppert, *RA* 1 (1886): 4:9 (collated) and BM 50186:1 (B-K L.16 and L.41). The temple with which he was associated is not given in the first text and is not preserved in the second; however, in the first text, he is mentioned in the witness list after the šatammu of Ebabbar, and in the second, the šatammu of Ebabbar appears in the next line.

⁶¹ PRS no. 10 rev. 2-3 (information courtesy of M. Gallery Kovacs), BM 75779:8, and MMA 86.11.187:9 (B-K L.145a, L.151, and L.156; temple name not given in last text).

⁶² Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iii 39-40 (name and title not given) and Borger, *Esarh.*, pp. 46-47 §27 episode 4 sub A (esp. ii 43-45); *UET* 4 27:17-18, 90 rev. 10' (without title), and 9:32 (B-K S.5, S.6, and Sn.3). For the possibility that he remained in office until at least 673, see p. 100. His title is written LÚ.GAR.KUR ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI. Sîn-balāssu-iqbi refers to his father as having been šakkanakku of Ur, the same title he himself used (*UET* 1 169:5-8 and 183:5-10). See also *ABL* 223 rev. 3 (*LAS*, no. 30), *CT* 54 527 rev. 5 (name written [n]⁶⁴nin-kal-la-SUM.NA), and Appendix C sub 2.

⁶³ BM 113927:32 and *UET* 4 32:17 (B-K K.40 and K.45); see also *UET* 1 169:5-6, 171:5-6, 172:33-34, 173:3-4, 174:3-4, 175:3-4, 176:3-4, 177:3-4, 178:3-4, 179:3-4, 180:3-4, 181:3-4, 182:3-4, and 183:5-7. He bears the title šakkanakku of Ur and Eridu in *UET* 1 168:4-6 and 170:5-7 and the title šakkanakku of Ur, Eridu, and the Gurasimmu in *UET* 8 102:6-9. The paternal name is learned from *ABL* 445:5-6, *UET* 1 169:5-8 and 183:5-10, and *UET* 8 102:6-7. See also *ABL* 426, 839, and 1106.

⁶⁴ *TCL* 12 13:1 and duplicate Scheil, *RT* 36 (1914): 189:1 (B-K Kn.11; for a new copy of the latter exemplar, see Durrand, *DCEPHE* 1, HE 144). The paternal name comes from *CT* 53 175:2. See also *ABL* 290, 947, 1121, and 1207. Durand (*RA* 75 [1981]: 181-85) has reasonably argued that Sîn-šarra-ušur is likely to have held office between the tenures of Sîn-balāssu-iqbi and Sîn-tabni-ušur, being appointed some point before the outbreak of the revolt of 652-648.

Sîn-tabni-ušur mār Ningal-iddin ⁶⁵	šaknu	years 19 and 20 Asb. (650 and 649)
15. URUK ⁶⁶		
a) Ina-tēši-ēfir ⁶⁷ Aḫḫēšaya ⁶⁸	šākin tēmi šākin tēmi	year 3 Esar. (678) years 6, 7, and 8 Esar. (675, 674, and 673); accession year Asb. (669); years 1 and 2 Ššu (667 and 666)

⁶⁵ BM 113929:34, BM 113928:30, and *UET* 4 23:24. (B-K J.11, J.13, and J.39); the title is written LÚ.GAR.KUR ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI. Note also U 30656 rev. 6' (B-K Jn.9); only the last part of the name is preserved ([...]-ŠEŠ), but the use of the title šaknu (LÚ.GAR.KUR ŠEŠ.UNUG.KI) suggests that the name is more likely to be restored [Sîn-tabni]-ušur than [Sîn-šarra]-ušur because the latter individual was given the title šakkanakku on the only occasion he clearly appears as governor (see above). The paternal name comes from Starr, *SAA* 4, nos. 300:5'-6' and 301 rev. 8-9. See also *ABL* 290, 523 (=30-DÜ!-PAB!) in line 1; collation courtesy S. Parpola, 754, 1207, etc.

⁶⁶ For the officials of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period, see San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, pp. 12-32 and Kümmel, *Familie*, pp. 137-46. In addition to the individuals listed below, one should note Marduk-nāšir, šatammu of Eanna, and Nabû-rēmāni, qīpu of Eanna, who are mentioned in *BIN* 1 114:10-11, *TCL* 13 211:8-9, and *PTS* 2981:9-10 (see B-K In.7; information on the third text courtesy of E. Leichy). None of the texts refers to the year of the king under which it was composed; however, individuals mentioned in the documents can be found in other documents dated between 718 and 666 (see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 141 n. 246 and B-K In.7). San Nicolò (*Prosopographie*, p. 26 n. 38a) dates these two officials to the reign of Ashurbanipal, without however giving any reason for this proposal. Note also Nabû-nāšir whom Šamaš-šuma-ukīn may have appointed governor of Uruk, although there is no evidence he ever actually held office (*CT* 54 496:3'-5', partially restored; and see chapter 8). The name of the province controlled by the Sîn-šarra-ušur who appears as (post-canonical) eponym in *ADD* 1252:24-25 is indistinct and probably to be read Nineveh (NINA.KI) not Uruk (UNUG.KI) (collation by C.B.F. Walker, with Johns copy and against Postgate, *FNALD*, p. 117 and Kwasman, *NALD*, p. 28). Falkner (*Afo* 17 [1954-56]: 116 and 118) tentatively dates this eponymy to 639 but presents no strong reason for this. Even if Uruk is to be read here, the eponymy may well date after 627 when control of Uruk appears to have fluctuated between the Assyrians and Babylonians.

⁶⁷ BM 118964:26 (B-K I.5). He may also appear in Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 63 no. 26:5' (mostly restored; B-K In.2).

⁶⁸ BM 118965:23; BM 118979:27 (mostly restored); A 3674:26; BM 118972:24; and W 21339 rev. 1 (B-K I.11, I.19, I.20, I.24, and In.6). BM 118975:27 (with duplicates BM 118969:28 and MAH 15976:26) (B-K J.2-4). BM 118981:24 and Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): 44:35 (B-K K.5 and K.8). He was possibly the son of Nanaya-ušalli; see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 139 and n. 222. See also *ABL* 965 and 1062.

Nabû-ušabši ⁶⁹	<i>šākin tēmi</i>	years 7, 9, 10, and 12 Ššu (661, 659, 658, and 656); years 18 and 20 Asb. (651 and 649)
Kudurru ⁷⁰	<i>šākin tēmi</i>	year 22 Asb. (647); year 2 Kan.? (646)
Nabû-zēru-līšir ⁷¹	<i>šākin tēmi</i>	year 6 Kan. (642)
Na'id-Marduk ⁷²	<i>šākin tēmi</i>	year 17 Kan. (631)
b) Nabû-nāšir ⁷³	<i>šatammu of Eanna</i>	years 3 and 6 Esar. (678 and 675)
Balātu ⁷⁴	<i>šatammu of Eanna</i>	years 7 and 8 Esar. (674 and 673); possibly year 2 Ššu? (666)
Nabû-iqīša ⁷⁵	<i>šatammu of Eanna</i>	years 9, 10, and 12 Ššu (659, 658, and 656)

⁶⁹ BM 118984:23; BM 118967:25; *TCL* 12 10:27 (and duplicate AO 10347 rev. 5 [Durand, *TBER*, pl. 33, labelled obverse]); *UET* 4 15:26 (and duplicate BM 118966:25); BM 118985:25 (and duplicate BM 118988:25); *TCL* 12 8:31; Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 276 no. 4:21; and Durand, *DCEPHE* 1, HE 469 rev. 2 (B-K K.22, K.33, K.36-37, K.38-39, K.64-65, K. 149, K.165, and Kn.6). Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 277 no. 5:21-22; and Smith, *MAT*, pl. 28:26 (B-K J.6, and J.12). He also appears in many letters. Note especially *ABL* 517 dated to 19-II-650. See Frame in *Cuneiform Archives*, pp. 260-72.

⁷⁰ *AnOr* 9 13:27 (royal name left blank but king's title was *šar mātāni*) and possibly Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 39 no. 4 rev. 21 (B-K Jn.8 and L.4). See also *BIN* 2 132:8 and 12 (collation courtesy J.A. Brinkman); since this text refers to Šamaš-danninanni as governor of Akkad (see above), the two individuals' tenures in office must have overlapped. Kudurru appears in several letters of the period (see in part Frame in *Cuneiform Archives*, p. 262). Note especially *ABL* 518, dated to 24-II of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu and sent by the king to Kudurru and the Urukians. He may be the son of Nabû-nāšir mentioned in *ABL* 880+CT 54 43:15-16.

⁷¹ PTS 2479:14' (B-K L.14).

⁷² Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 278 no. 6:31 and 274 no. 2:29 (B-K L.107 and L.108). He is probably to be identified with the son of UD.20.1.LÁ.KAM-PAB mentioned in *ABL* 1387 rev. 1 (and cf. 815:1) and *BIN* 1 159:18 (B-K L.29); see Kümmel, *Familie*, p. 139 and n. 227.

⁷³ BM 118964:27 and BM 118965:24 (B-K L.5 and L.11). See also p. 277 n. 56.

⁷⁴ BM 118979:28 (title mostly restored); A 3674:27; BM 118972:25; and W 21339 rev. 2 (B-K L.19, L.20, L.24, and In.6 respectively); possibly Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): 44:35-36 (only traces of the last sign of the name are preserved; C.B.F. Walker informs me that the restoration would fit the spacing and that the remains of the last sign are "entirely consistent with its being 'tu'" [private communication]; B-K K.8). He is likely to be identified with the *šatammu* Itti-Marduk-balātu who is mentioned in *ABL* 476 (*LAS*, no. 277) and the Itti-Marduk-balātu who wrote *ABL* 831. Parpola dates *ABL* 476 to the year 671 (*LAS* 2, pp. 265-66). Note also *CT* 54 60 rev. 3?

⁷⁵ BM 118967:26; *TCL* 12 10:28 (and duplicate AO 10347 rev. 6 [Durand, *TBER*, pl. 33, labelled obverse]); *UET* 4 15:27 (and duplicate BM 118966:26); BM 118985:26 (and

Nabû-šuma-iddin ⁷⁶	<i>šatammu of Eanna</i>	year 18 Asb. (651)
Bēl-uballiṭ ⁷⁷	<i>šatammu of Eanna</i>	year 6 Kan. (642)
c) Aššur-bēla-ušur ⁷⁸	<i>qīpu of Eanna</i>	at some point while Nabû-ušabši governor of Uruk
Šamaš-ilaya ⁷⁹	<i>qīpu of Urukand Eanna</i>	years 6, 9, and 11 Kan. (642, 639, and 637)
d) Nabû-ušallim	<i>tupšarru of Eanna</i>	year 2 Kan. (646)
<i>mār Šin-leqi-unninni⁸⁰</i>	<i>tupšarru of Eanna</i>	year 4 Kan. (644)
Širikti-Marduk	<i>tupšarru of Eanna</i>	year 6 Kan. (642)
<i>māršu ša Ibni-Ištar⁸¹</i>		
Širikti-Marduk	<i>tupšarru of Eanna</i>	year 6 Kan. (642)
<i>māršu ša Nabû-ušallim</i>		
<i>mār Hunzû⁸²</i>		

16. MISCELLANEOUS

Nādin-aḫī ⁸³	<i>bēl pīḫati</i>	eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)
[Mannu]-kī-Arba'il ⁸⁴	<i>rab kiṣri</i>	eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)
Nergal-nāšir ⁸⁵	<i>gugallu</i>	eponymy of Ubāru (early in reign of Esar.?)

duplicate BM 118988:26); and Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 276 no. 4:22 (B-K K.33, K.36-37, K.38-39, K.64-65, and K.165 respectively).

⁷⁶ Hunger, *Bagh. Mitt.* 5 (1970): 277 no. 5:22 (B-K J.6).

⁷⁷ PTS 2479:15' (B-K L.14). See also *ABL* 880+CT 54 43 and *ABL* 1129?

⁷⁸ Durand, *DCEPHE* 1, HE 469 rev. 3 (B-K Kn.6).

⁷⁹ Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 43 no. 7:6-7 and 45 no. 8:33; A 3658:33; and Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 50 no. 15:9-10 (B-K L.17, L.18, L.38, and L.52 respectively).

⁸⁰ *AnOr* 9 3:62-64 (B-K L.5). He was also *kalû*-priest of Ištar and *šangû*-priest of Nusku. His father's name was probably Balātu; see Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): 44:47-48 (B-K K.8). A temple scribe of Uruk (LÚ.DUB.SAR É DINGIR ša UNUG.KI) appears associated with the *šatammu* and the *qīpu* in the time of Esarhaddon (*ABL* 476:28-29 [*LAS*, no. 277]); Parpola dates the letter of the year 671 (*LAS* 2, pp. 265-66).

⁸¹ Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 40 no. 5:20-21 (B-K L.8). Could he or the like-named son of Nabû-ušallim (see below) be identified with the Širikti mentioned in *ABL* 815:2?

⁸² Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1984): 45 no. 8:34-35 (B-K L.18).

⁸³ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4:5 (B-K S.7); text dated at Babylon.

⁸⁴ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 3:28 and see p. 53 (B-K S.7); text dated at Babylon. Since he appears to have been an Assyrian, possibly sent to perform some commission in Babylonia, he should perhaps not appear in this list. A number of other individuals bearing the title of *rab kiṣri* appear in Babylonia during this time; some at least appear to have been Assyrians. See p. 235.

⁸⁵ Pinches, *Afo* 13 (1939-41): pl. 4:6 (B-K S.7); text dated at Babylon.

Bēl-ēti ⁸⁶	<i>šākin tēmi</i>	late in reign of Esar.
Zēra-iddin ⁸⁷	<i>rab ālāni</i>	year 2 Ššu (666)
Adad-dān(i) ⁸⁸	<i>sukkallu</i>	year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
Nabû-bēla-ušur ⁸⁹	<i>šākin māti,</i> (<i>šaknu</i>)	year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
Aḫi-iliya ⁹⁰	<i>ša pān ekalli</i>	year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
Nabû-killanni ⁹¹	<i>mukil appāti</i>	year 6(+) Ššu (662[-])
AN.GAL-mušallim ⁹²	<i>rab (ša) rēši</i>	time of Ššu
Nabû-šuma-iškun ⁹³	<i>tušsar ekalli</i>	time of Ššu
Taklāk?-ana-Nabû? ⁹⁴	<i>LÚ qt-[p]a? šá</i> [...]	time of Ššu
Šalam-šarri-iqbī ⁹⁵	<i>šaknu ša šarri</i>	time of Ššu
[^m (x)]-TI-DINGIR ⁹⁶	<i>šaknu ša šarri!?</i>	time of Ššu
Šu[maya?] ⁹⁷	<i>šatammu of</i> Ningal	time of Ššu revolt or shortly thereafter
Bābilaya ⁹⁸	<i>ša rēši tuššarru ša</i> <i>šar bābili</i>	time of Asb.

⁸⁶ ABL 276 rev. 10. For the date of the letter (in or after 671), see Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 34-36 and Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 64 and n. 120. Note also *CT* 54 63:6?

⁸⁷ BM 47480+47783:9'-10' (B-K K.9); dated at Dilbat and reportedly found at that site.

⁸⁸ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 17 (dated at Sippar) and *BBS* 10 rev. 42 (B-K K.163 and K.169); see p. 232.

⁸⁹ *BBS* 10 rev. 42 (B-K K.169). Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 17 (B-K K.163; year not preserved); text from Sippar. With regard to the writing of his title, see p. 232. With regard to the province he governed, see p. 234 n. 128.

⁹⁰ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 18 (dated at Sippar) and *BBS* 10 rev. 43 (B-K K.163 and K.169); see p. 232. See also ABL 270:5 (letter written by Nabû-ušabši of Uruk).

⁹¹ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 19 (dated at Sippar) and *BBS* 10 rev. 43 (B-K K.163 and K.169); see p. 232. See also *ADD* 860 i 18.

⁹² Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 18 (B-K K.163); dated at Sippar; see p. 232. On the reading of AN.GAL, see Borger, *Zeichenliste*, p. 61 (Angal or Anu-rabū) and Zadok, *West Semites*, p. 20 (possibly Hūmban).

⁹³ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 20 (B-K K.163); dated at Sippar; see p. 232.

⁹⁴ Steinmetzer, *Deimel Festschrift*, p. 306 rev. 20 (B-K K.163); dated at Sippar. The reading of the name is uncertain. Landsberger (*Brief*, p. 59 n. 110) assigns him to the Ezida temple, but the approximately corresponding entry in the second kudurrū from the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukin (*BBS* 10 rev. 44) mentions the *qīpu* of Esagila (see above, p. 232).

⁹⁵ *UET* 4 201:12 (B-K K.166); text found at Ur. The title is written 'LÚ' šak-nu šá LUGAL.

⁹⁶ *UET* 4 201:13 (B-K K.166); text found at Ur. The reading of the personal name is not certain. The title is written LÚ šak-nu' šá LUGAL (copy: LÚ).

⁹⁷ ABL 1000:18-19; the individual is described as being from Kissik. The tentative restoration of the name comes from ABL 963 rev. 4' (following Dietrich, *Aramäer*, p. 195 no. 142).

⁹⁸ BM 29391:22 (B-K Jn.5). The document likely dates to early in the reign of Ashurbanipal in view of the presence of three witnesses—Marduk-šuma-ušur (GAL

Zērūtu	<i>qīpu</i>	year 20 Asb. (649)
mār Bēl-irašši ⁹⁹		
Bēl-x-x ¹⁰⁰	<i>šaknu/šakin māti</i>	year 4 Kan. (644)
Ša-Nabû-šū ¹⁰¹	<i>rab ālāni ša</i> <i>šakni/šakin māti</i>	year 20 Kan. (628)
Šarrukkaya ¹⁰²	<i>rab ālāni ša kišir</i> <i>eššu</i>	year 20 Kan. (628)
Bēl-šarra-ušur ¹⁰³	<i>ša rēš šarri bēl</i> <i>piqittu ša kārī</i>	year 20 Kan. (628)
Aḫu-dūr ¹⁰⁴	<i>rab kišri</i>	year 21 Kan. (627) ¹⁰⁵

LÚ.ĪĀL, chief diviner), Nāširu (LÚ.ĪĀL, diviner), and Aqara (LÚ.ĪĀL, diviner) (lines 19-21)—who held office in Assyria at the end of the reign of Esarhaddon and at the beginning of the reign of Ashurbanipal (see *LAS*, no. 115, with commentary). A number of other officials appear as witnesses in the document who may have served in Babylonia (e.g., Šamaš-balāṭu, the palace overseer—šá 'pa'-an É.G[AL], line 16), but they more likely served in Assyria as did some other witnesses (e.g., the mayor of Nineveh—[...]-ia' LÚ ḫa-za-an šá URU ni-ná-'a', line 14).

⁹⁹ *AnOr* 9 4 vi 34-35 (B-K J.15); exact reading of family name (r^m EN-TUK-šī) uncertain. Kümmel suggests that he was *qīpu* of Eanna in Uruk (*Familie*, p. 140); however, the text was dated at Iltuk, which may be identified with the town located in Bit-Dakkūri (Luckenbill, *Senn.*, pp. 52-53:38-39).

¹⁰⁰ Ellis, *JCS* 36 (1983): 40 no. 5:6 (B-K L.8); dated at Uruk. The text is damaged and it is not absolutely certain that the title (LÚ.GAR.KUR) refers to the individual even though it immediately follows his name.

¹⁰¹ Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 6 no. 8:9-10 (B-K L.143); text dated at Šibtī-ša-šakni/šakin-māti. The title is written LÚ.GAL URU.MEŠ šá LÚ.GAR.KUR. An individual with the same title is attested during the reign of Šin-šarra-iškun (BM 50762:3-4, B-K O.46).

¹⁰² Weidner, *Afo* 16 (1952-53): pl. 6 no. 8:11-12 (B-K L.143); text dated at Šibtī-ša-šakni/šakin-māti. The title is written LÚ.GAL URU.MEŠ šá ki-šir eš-šū.

¹⁰³ BM 97376:3-4 (B-K L.146a); text dated at Sippar.

¹⁰⁴ MMA 86.11.187:10 (B-K L.156); text dated at Sippar.

¹⁰⁵ In addition to the above, officials also dating to this period may be the *šākin tēmi* Marduk mentioned in ABL 1204:4' and the *šatammu* Bēl-iqīša mentioned in ABL 914:4 and rev.19. *CT* 54 92:4'-7' appears to refer to one Šulaya son of Ibnaya (mib-na-'a?' [(...)]) whom Šamaš-šuma-ukin had appointed *šatammu* (for restorations, see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, pp. 174-75 no. 97).

APPENDIX C

 Some Notes on Dating Methods in
 Babylonian Economic Texts

Changing and at times ambiguous political circumstances during the period 689-627, and in the year thereafter, resulted in several variations of recording year dates in private economic documents from Babylonia. Atypical formulae are attested for the "kingless" years (688-681) and the year following the death of Kandalānu. The Assyrian practice of dating by eponyms was also employed, sometimes using Assyrian eponyms and sometimes new Babylonian eponyms. Since Babylonia was in effect under Assyrian control during all of this period, this is not surprising, though the use of eponym dating at Babylon while a king of Babylonia sat on the throne is unexpected, even if he was the brother of the king of Assyria.¹

(1) Babylonian economic texts dated by the regnal years of Sennacherib exhibit two different systems of reckoning the year of the king's reign. IM 57905 and UM 29-13-568 (B-K C.1-2) are dated at Nippur by "Sennacherib, king of Assyria" on the ninth day of Nisannu (I) of his third year and on an unknown day in Kislimu (IX) of his fourth year respectively. The former document records a payment and the latter the sale of land. Since Sennacherib ruled Babylonia directly for only two years before he made Bēl-ibni king of Babylonia in 703, they cannot be dated to that period and should come from the period after the destruction of Babylon, with year one likely being considered 688—the first of the eight "kingless" years recorded by the Ptolemaic Canon and one of the Babylonian chronicles.² In contrast, VAS 5 1 (B-K C.3), which may describe the sale of a slave, was dated at Hursagkalama on the twenty-fourth day of Simanu (III) in the twenty-fourth year of "Sennacherib, king of Assyria"; the document would come from 681, with 704 being counted as Sennacherib's first regnal year.³ Thus, in the

¹ This assumes that the eponymy of Aqara is to be dated to the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (see below).

² Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 iii 28.

³ There was also some confusion in Assyria in reckoning the first regnal year of Sennacherib, as J. Lewy pointed out in *Deimel Festschrift*, pp. 225-31. (See also Brinkman in *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 22.) Lewy notes that 705, 704, and 703 were variously reckoned as Sennacherib's first regnal year. In the case of this Babylonian text (VAS 5 1), the year 703 can be ruled out since it would put year 24 in 680, the first year of

absence of a king of Babylonia there was some confusion over the reference points for starting to enumerate the regnal years of the Assyrian overlord.

(2) Two documents dated by the years of office of a governor are known—*UET* 4 27 and 90 (B-K S.5-6); the former records the sale of a slave, while the latter deals with a loan of silver. Both texts were found at Ur and *UET* 4 27 specifically states that it was composed at that site; the place at which *UET* 4 90 was composed is not preserved. They were drawn up on the eleventh day of Addaru (XII) in the eighth year and on the twenty-eighth (or later) day of Tašritu (VII) in the twelfth year of Ningal-iddin respectively; in the former text, Ningal-iddin is given the title governor (*šākin tēmi*) of Ur. Exactly when these two texts are to be dated in absolute terms is not clear. The only secure date within Ningal-iddin's term as governor of Ur is 680, when he was attacked by Nabū-zēr-kitti-līšir of the Sealand. The dates of both his and his successor's appointment to the office are unknown. *ABL* 445 may suggest that his son Šin-balāssu-iqbi had already succeeded him as governor in the reign of Esarhaddon, but this is uncertain.⁴ It is probable that Ningal-iddin held the governorship under both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon,⁵ especially in view of the absence of texts dated by either king at Ur, and thus these texts could come from either reign. It seems more likely, however, that texts would have been dated by a governor's years of office during a "kingless" period rather than during the reign of an acknowledged king of Babylonia. Whereas Sennacherib never claimed the title "king of Babylon" and was not recognized as such during his lifetime, Esarhaddon was acknowledged to be a legitimate ruler of Babylonia. If the two texts dated by Ningal-iddin come from the "kingless" period in Babylonia, rather than the reign of Esarhaddon, as would seem more likely, Ningal-iddin must have been appointed governor of Ur either before or shortly after the beginning of the rebellion of 694-689.⁶

(3) Three documents from this period are of particular significance because they show the adoption and adaptation of the Assyrian practice of eponym dating by Babylonian scribes. In each case, the text comes from

Esarhaddon's reign. Since scholarly opinion accepts 704 as Sennacherib's first regnal year, and since none of the texts reckoning 705 as year one are Babylonian, it is best to assume that the author of the VAS 5 1 used 704 as year one, and that this text is to be dated to 681.

⁴ On *ABL* 445, see p. 99.

⁵ Since there is no definite proof that anyone but Ningal-iddin held the governorship of Ur until 658, when Šin-balāssu-iqbi was expressly called governor of Ur, one cannot rule out the possibility that Ningal-iddin governed Ur down into the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn. But, as discussed in chapter 6, this is unlikely. Inscriptions of Esarhaddon composed in 673 still mention him as governor of Ur (see p. 100).

⁶ On the date of these texts, see also p. 61.

Babylon and is dated by the eponymy (*limmu*) of an official who does not appear in the Assyrian canon and who held office in Babylon.

The first text, formerly no. 224 in the collection of Lord Amherst,⁷ records the redemption of an individual and is dated at Babylon on the fourth day of Abu (V) in the eponymy of ^mū-bar, the *šākin tēmi* of Babylon. The person named as eponym is also known from *ABL* 327, 418, and 702.⁸ In each case, Ubār(u) is associated with Babylon, and twice expressly called *šākin tēmi* of that city.⁹ Internal evidence from two of the letters indicates that they were written during the reign of Esarhaddon.¹⁰ In addition, the first witness in the economic text in question here, [Mannu]-kī-Arba'il, the *rab kišri*, also appears in texts from Assyria datable to the reign of Esarhaddon, including one from the end of the second month of 680.¹¹ Since it is unlikely that there would have been a governor of Babylon until after Esarhaddon had resettled that city, this text likely dates to the reign of Esarhaddon, possibly soon after Babylon was restored. Ubāru may have been appointed eponym in order to help commemorate that restoration. However, since no other individual is attested as governor of Babylon until 654, it is not impossible that Ubāru held office into the early part of the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and that his eponymy comes from that time.¹²

Two documents are dated at Babylon by the eponymy of ^ma-qar-a, the governor (*bēl pīḫati*) of Babylon, on the fifth day of Abu (V) and the eighteenth day of Šabaṭu (XI) respectively (BM 118973 and 80-B-10; *B-K* S.1-2).¹³ The former text records the sale of an orchard; information on the latter text is not available. Individuals with the name of Aqara (possibly to be read Aqarā, Aqaraya, or Aqar-aplu) appear in many letters, economic texts, reports, and other documents; however, there is no clear evidence to associate any of them with the eponymy of this name.¹⁴ Prosopographic evidence from the former text might suggest that it dates from c. 656-653, the period during

⁷ Pinches, *AfO* 13 (1939-41): 51-52 and pls. 3-4 (*B-K* S.7) and see Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 29-30.

⁸ He may also be the Ubāru mentioned in *CT* 54 439:6' (see Dietrich, *WO* 4 [1968]: 214-15).

⁹ *ABL* 327 rev. 11 and 418:2-3.

¹⁰ *ABL* 418 (reference to the king having repopulated Babylon in rev. 4-9) and 702 (references to the resettlement of Babylon and to Šillaya in lines 9-10 and rev. 7; see Landsberger, *Brief*, pp. 32-33 for a translation based upon restorations).

¹¹ See the references in Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 125, especially *ADD* 360 (Kwasman, *NALD*, no. 152).

¹² See Frame, *RA* 76 (1982): 157 and 159, and *JCS* 36 (1984): 79-80 n. 77.

¹³ See Frame, *RA* 76 (1982): 157-66 for the former text. The city over which he was governor is not given in the latter text.

¹⁴ The most likely other reference to the governor by this name might be as the recipient of *ABL* 912 (date uncertain); the individual in that text had the power to appoint officials (see rev. 4-6).

which the main participant in the transaction described in the document was active in Babylon, but the evidence is not overwhelming.¹⁵

This adoption of an Assyrian dating practice at Babylon, however modified for Babylonian usage, is surprising and presumably could only have taken place while Assyria exercised control over that country. The exact reason why it was done remains uncertain.

(4) A few documents may have been dated in Babylonia according to Assyrian eponym officials. Two tablets, both numbered IM 63773 (*B-K* S.3-4), are dated in the eponymy of Nabû-šarra-ušur, the palace(?) scribe; they were found at Dūr-Kurigalzu and appear to have been composed at Opis. Nabû-šarra-ušur was a post-canonical eponym official who may have held office c. 626.¹⁶ Since Dūr-Kurigalzu and Opis are on Babylonia's northern border, close to Assyria, it is not surprising that Assyrian dating practices were at times employed there.¹⁷

B.79 (*B-K* Sn.1) is an Assyrian-style economic text written in the Neo-Assyrian script and dated on the twenty-second day of Šabaṭu (XI) in the eponymy of Aššur-gimilla-tir, the *chief* ... (GAL x [...]), c. 641.¹⁸ Since this text comes from the Babylon collection in Istanbul, it may have been found at that city. It would seem more likely, however, that the tablet was either wrongly assigned to this collection or brought to Babylon from Assyria in ancient (or modern) times.

(5) On occasion, documents were dated according to the years of a previous, deceased ruler. This type of dating had been used at Targibātu in 693: "first year after (*arki*) Nergal-ušēzib, king of Babylon" (*UET* 4 204; *B-K* G.1).¹⁹ Similarly, two documents were given *arki* dates during the

¹⁵ See Frame, *RA* 76 (1982): 163-65. Mušēzib-Marduk was active in business matters at Babylon from 656 to 653, but he also appears in texts from Uruk as early as 678. Thus this eponymy could conceivably date close in time to that of Ubāru. Another possibility might be the accession year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (668), for which no documents are attested.

¹⁶ The eponym's name and/or title is not fully preserved in either text. He was first identified by Brinkman with the like-named individual who was eponym in 682 (*JCS* 25 [1973]: 95 n. 33), but this view was retracted in *Power and Propaganda*, p. 244 n. 66. For an approximate date of 626 for the post-canonical eponymy, see Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56): 114 and 119. Note the study by Fales of the various individuals bearing the name Nabû-šarra-ušur in the Neo-Assyrian archives (*SAAB* 2 [1988]: 105-24).

¹⁷ In view of the uncertainty over the exact location of the Assyrian border at this time, it is possible that these two cities, particularly the latter, were then under direct Assyrian control. On the location of Opis, see Frame, *AfO* 13 (1986): 209 and Black, *NAPR* 1 (1987): 18-19.

¹⁸ For the date of the eponymy, see Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56): 109-10 and 118.

¹⁹ Note also the unpublished text BM 17310 (*B-K* Bn.1) which refers to the nineteenth year of Sargon even though that king reigned only seventeen years.

"kingless" years, while Sennacherib was officially in control of Babylonia. BM 46916 and L 1672 (*B-K* Fn.2 and Fn.5) were composed at Borsippa on the twenty-fourth day of an unknown month in the twelfth year and on the twenty-second day of intercalary Ulūlu (VI₂) in the thirteenth year "after Aššur-nādin-šumi, the king" respectively (688 and 687).²⁰ Thus, these tablets were dated according to the years of the last Babylonia ruler to be considered legitimate by both the Assyrians and Babylonians.

Two tablets with similar date formulae are BM 36514 and 40039 (Wiseman, *Chron.*, p. 89 and pls. 20-21 and 18-19 respectively; *B-K* L.160 and L.163). Both documents were composed at Babylon and deal with the payment of debts or the settlement of accounts. The former text was dated on the first (or a later) day of Araḥsamna (VIII) in the twenty-first year "after Kandalānu"²¹ and the latter one on the second day of Araḥsamna (VIII) in the twenty-second year "after Kandalānu, king of Babylon," i.e., in 627 and 626 respectively. The use of this type of date formula reflects uncertainty in Babylon as to who should be acknowledged ruler in the period of strife following the deaths of Kandalānu and Ashurbanipal.

²⁰ BM 46916 describes a loan of ten shekels of silver and L 1672 a transaction involving a house (exact interpretation uncertain). Information on L 1672 was kindly supplied by F. Joannès.

²¹ Kandalānu's title is not preserved in the document.

APPENDIX D

The Battle of Ḫirītu and Ashurbanipal Edition B

The Akītu Chronicle states that in the sixteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Babylonian rebel forces were defeated by an Assyrian army at Ḫirītu on the twenty-seventh day of Addaru (XII):

ŠE 27 ÉRIN-*ni* KUR *aš-šur* u ÉRIN KUR URI.KI
šal-tu, *ina ḫi-rit* DÙ.MEŠ-*ma* ÉRIN KUR URI.KI
ina MĒ EDIN BAL.ME-*ma* BAD₂.BAD₂-*šū-nu* *ma-a-diš* GAR-*in*

On the twenty-seventh (day) of Addaru the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad did battle at Ḫirīt. The army of Akkad retreated from the battlefield and a major defeat was inflicted upon them.¹

BM 32312, an astronomical diary for the year 652 (the year -651 according to astronomical citation), contains the following historical comment after an entry for the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month and before one for the twenty-eighth day:

[x x x x] *ḫi-ri-tu*, NAM UD.KIB.NUN.KI ÉRIN KUR URI.KI u
 KUR *aš-šur*
 [*šal-tu* KI *a-ḫa*]-*meš* DÙ.MEŠ-*ma* ÉRIN KUR URI.KI BAL.ME
ma-'-diš GAZ

The armies of Akkad and Assyria did [battle with each] other [... at] Ḫirītu, (in the) province of Sippar. The army of Akkad retreated (and) was soundly defeated.²

Obviously the two sources refer to the same battle—a battle in which Babylonian forces were decisively defeated by Assyrian troops and forced to

¹ *BHT*, pl. 4:13-15 (Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16).

² Sachs, *Astronomical Diaries* 1, no. -651 iv 18'-19'. A.J. Sachs kindly provided me with a transliteration of the two historical passages in this text in 1979 and allowed me to use it in my doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago, 1981).

retreat³—and thereby confirm that the sixteenth year of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn is to be identified with the year 652. The exact location of Hīrītu, however, is unclear. Up until now it has been assumed that the Hīrītu mentioned in the Akītu Chronicle was located in southeastern Babylonia,⁴ but BM 32312 states that it was in the province of Sippar. This would place it in northern Babylonia, closer to the Assyrian border,⁵ unless one wished to assume either an error in the text or a second, and otherwise unattested, province of Sippar in the south—both obviously undesirable assumptions. It is not improbable for a major battle to have taken place early in the revolt in the area around the border between the two countries, since as a rule the Assyrians kept no major forces stationed in Babylonia. Hīrītu means “ditch,” “canal,” or “moat”⁶ and it is thus not surprising that several places have this name, making it difficult to connect the Hīrītu of our texts with any other place of a similar name.⁷ We may note, however, that a Hīrītu is attested in the Ur III period in the province of Urum (possibly located just north of Sippar).⁸ Millard has suggested that the Hīrītu of the chronicle is to be connected to Harutu (URU *ha-ru-tu*), a border fortress between Babylonia and Assyria situated east of the Tigris in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II, and possibly to Hararātu (URU *ha-ra-ra-tu*), a town destroyed by Sennacherib in 702.⁹ There may be a Hīrītu River (ID *hi-ri-te*) located in the East Tigris region¹⁰ and a Hīrutu ([KUR] *hi-ru-tu*) is attested as one of the provinces of Gambūlu. The latter could be connected with our Hīrītu,¹¹ but only a short, unstressed /a/ in an open syllable undergoes vowel harmony in Assyrian. The Gambūlu, however, are usually found in southern Babylonia along the Elamite border,

³ For minor differences in the two accounts (e.g., Assyria is mentioned first in the former account and Akkad in the latter) which might suggest that neither account was directly derived from the other, see Brinkman, *Moran Festschrift*, pp. 95-96.

⁴ E.g., Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 257 and Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 162.

⁵ The exact location of the Assyro-Babylonian border during the years 689-627 is uncertain, although it must have lain north of Sippar. At this time, Dēr, Lahīru, and possibly Dūr-Sarrukku appear to have been annexed to Assyria (see pp. 222-24). Since Babylonia was under Assyrian control or supervision during this time, there may have been no clearly defined border.

⁶ CAD 6 (H), p. 198.

⁷ Note in particular Röllig in *RLA* 4, p. 418.

⁸ See Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 76 and Steinkeller, *JCS* 32 (1980): 33. For the location of the province of Urum, see Frayne, *AOS* (in press).

⁹ Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964): 25 n. 52. Thompson, *Archaeologia* 79 (1929): 117 and pl. 41 no. 1:7-8; AKA, p. 163:15-17; and Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 1 ii 24-25.

¹⁰ Lie, *Sar.*, p. 46:289. Three towns (in the district) of ID *hi-ri-te* were captured by Sargon during his campaign against Dūr-Athara, which Unger suggests may be located on the Tigris near Kut el-Amara (*RLA* 2, p. 242). In addition, an URU *hi-ri-te* appears in a letter of Šamaš-ēmuranni (*ABL* 312:7), in broken context, and an URU *hi-ri-ti* in a list of towns (including Arbela) making deliveries of grain (Parker, *Iraq* 23 [1961]: 54 and pl. 28 ND 2791:2).

¹¹ Lie, *Sar.*, p. 48:1.

not in the vicinity of Sippar. Although an exact location for the Hīrītu of the chronicle and astronomical diary cannot be ascertained, there is no reason not to locate it in northern Babylonia, in the province of Sippar.¹²

Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals states that during the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt Assyrian forces stationed in Mangisi within Sumandir (URU [var. KUR] *man-gi-si ša qé-reb URU su-man-dir*) defeated some troops that had been sent by Humban-nikaš II, king of Elam, to aid Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.¹³ No other reference to Mangisi is attested in this period. A place by the name of Sumandar located in the region of Uruk is well-attested in Neo-Babylonian texts;¹⁴ however, a location in the southwest would present some problems. It would be strange to find Elamite troops fighting with troops stationed near Uruk. Although the Elamites could have entered Babylonia via the Sealand, it is much more likely that their army would have come via Dēr, the normal invasion route. In this case, either the Elamite or Assyrian troops would have had to cross all of Babylonia in order to meet the opposing force. A location for the battle in the northeast would seem more likely and, in fact, it is possible to locate Mangisi and Sumandir there. A town by the name of Mankisum was located on the Tigris in the area of the Diyala in the Old Babylonian period.¹⁵ Neo-Babylonian texts also appear to refer to a Sumandar river, and perhaps a town by the name of Sumundar, located near Babylon and Sippar;¹⁶ and a Simudar was apparently located in the Diyala region in the Ur III period.¹⁷

Millard has suggested that the Akītu Chronicle and edition B describe one and the same battle.¹⁸ In both accounts, rebel forces in the north were

¹² Could this Hīrītu be identified with the town by that name besieged by Elamite troops in the Old Babylonian period? When they were unable to take the town, the Elamites appear to have returned to Eshnunna; this could suggest that the town besieged by them had been within striking distance of Eshnunna (see *AEM* 1/2 327:6'-7', 328:21-22, 376: 5-10, and 384:23'). These references were kindly brought to my attention by D.R. Frayne.

¹³ Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 76-77 vii 3-35. Edition C (Bauer, *Asb.*, pl. 11 and p. 17 viii 3-20) does not appear to add any information of value about this incident that is not contained in edition B.

¹⁴ See Zadok, *RGTC* 8, p. 275. McEwan connects the Sumandir of edition B with this place (*RA* 74 [1980]: 171).

¹⁵ See Goetze, *JCS* 7 (1953): 56; Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, pp. 158-59. Beitzel has located the town near the ford at modern Tarmiya (*Iraq* 46 [1984]: 37 n. 50). The association of Mangisi with this location was first proposed by Millard in *Iraq* 26 (1964): 24. The place or places called Mangiṣṣi/Mankiṣṣi in Middle Babylonian texts and located in the area of Nippur and the province of Bīt-Sîn-māgir are to be distinguished from the town in the northeast. See Edzard in *RLA* 7, pp. 339-40 and Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 183; the province of Bīt-Sîn-māgir apparently lay near the Sealand (*ibid.*, pp. 68-69), though note that a Bīt-Sîn-māgir is located near Dūr-Kurigalzu on the TAVO map B III 7 which is associated with Nashef's volume.

¹⁶ See Zadok, *RGTC* 8, pp. 275 and 382-83, and Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 316.

¹⁷ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, pp. 166-67.

¹⁸ *Iraq* 26 (1964): 24-25.

defeated early in the revolt by an Assyrian army¹⁹ and it would not be surprising if the one specific battle of the revolt considered worthy of mention in Ashurbanipal's annals²⁰ was also the one battle mentioned in the Akītu Chronicle. If identified with the earlier site on the Tigris in the region of the Diyala, Mangisi would have lain quite close to Sippar, in whose province the battle at Īrītū took place. The identification of the battle mentioned in edition B with the one in the Akītu Chronicle and the astronomical diary does, however, present at least one problem. The Babylonian chronicle and diary state that it was Babylonians (troops of Akkad) who fought with the Assyrians, while edition B, an Assyrian document, only refers to Elamite forces on the opposing side. One could argue that the difference is due to the different orientations of the texts (i.e., Babylonian versus Assyrian). Similar conflicting reports about who took part in fighting (as well as who won) are preserved about the battle at Dēr in 720, where scholars give greater credence to a statement found in a chronicle—regrettably not in the same chronicle as the one in question here—than to those found in Assyrian (and Babylonian) royal inscriptions.²¹ However, in view of the detail involved in edition B (e.g., the names of the various Elamite officials taking part in the battle and their fates), it seems certain that a battle between Elamite and Assyrian forces actually took place. Possibly the Babylonian sources subsumed the Elamite troops under the term "army of Akkad" since the Elamites had come to aid Babylonia, induced by a "gift" from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn to Īmban-nikaš (i.e., in Babylonian employ). Nevertheless, since several military engagements undoubtedly took place in northern Babylonia during the early years of the revolt—the chronicle states that "there was war; fighting continued" (MUNUS.KÚR GAR-at šal-tu, sad-rat) immediately following its entry about the battle at Īrītū²²—and in view of the differences in the two accounts over who fought in the battle, it is likely that two battles, not one, are described in the sources.

¹⁹ Edition B does not give a precise date for the battle; however, since the Elamite army was sent by Īmban-nikaš II, it must have taken place before his death partway through the revolt.

²⁰ Excluding the battles with the Arabs (see above).

²¹ See Grayson in *Studies Landsberger*, pp. 340-42.

²² Grayson, *Chronicles*, no. 16:16.

APPENDIX E

The Dating of Ashurbanipal's Campaigns against Īmban-ħaltaš III

The problem of the exact dates of Ashurbanipal's two campaigns in Elam against Īmban-ħaltaš III has been discussed for a number of years but as yet no consensus has been reached. The information available offers several possibilities, none of which is in any way conclusive. In attempting to determine the dates of the two campaigns, the following points must be kept in mind:

- 1) The previous king of Elam, Indabibi, is known to have been on the throne for at least part of 649.¹
- 2) Neither edition B nor edition D of Ashurbanipal's annals mentions Indabibi having been replaced by Īmban-ħaltaš III or a campaign to Elam which could be identified with one against Īmban-ħaltaš III. Various copies of these editions were composed in 649 and 648.²
- 3) Īmban-ħaltaš III is first mentioned as ruler of Elam in editions K and C of Ashurbanipal's annals, which mention the first campaign against the Elamite king. No date is preserved for edition K, but edition C was composed in the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē (647 or 646).³
- 4) Both campaigns are described in edition F of Ashurbanipal's annals, the earliest copy of which was composed on the twenty-fourth day of Ayyaru (II) of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (646 or 645).⁴
- 5) Both campaigns are described before the death of Nabû-bēl-šumāti in edition A and that death appears to have taken place no earlier than the month

¹ ABL 1151 (letter from Ashurbanipal to Indabibi, "king of Elam," composed in 649).

² Piepkorn, *Asb.*, pp. 90-91 and Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968): 102-103. One copy was composed in the fifth month of 648 (K 2732++). For a tentative assignment of all copies composed in 648 to edition D, see Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980): 148-49.

³ For the dates of the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥḥē and edition C, see chapter 3. Cogan and Tadmor argue that edition K was composed before edition C and suggest 647 and 646 for editions K and C respectively (*Or.* NS 50 [1981]: 238-39). With regard to Indabibi's loss of the throne, see pp. 185-86.

⁴ See Aynard, *Asb.*, p. 12 and n. 3. For the date of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu, see chapter 3. Both campaigns are also described in editions T and A; edition T, the earlier edition of the two, was copied on 24-VI of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (Thompson, *PEA*, p. 36 and pl. 18 vi 51-53) and edition A somewhat later (eponymy of Šamaš-danninanni).

of Šabaṭu (XI) of the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥḫē and no later than 26-IV of the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḫēšu.⁵

6) The first campaign began in the month of Simanu (III).⁶

7) The second campaign lasted at least one month and twenty-five days.⁷

8) Editions A, F, and T record that Ashurbanipal escorted back to Uruk the statue of Nanaya which he had recovered from Elam in the course of the second campaign and that he set it up in the temple Ehilianna. Edition A adds that the statue entered Uruk on the first day of the month of Kislimu (IX).⁸

Although Humban-ḫaltaš III must have replaced Indabibi as ruler of Elam sometime between 649 and the eponymy of Nabû-nādin-aḥḫē (647 or 646), the exact date cannot be determined at present. While he may have become king before the end of the Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt, there is no evidence to prove this.⁹ In addition, it seems likely that the two campaigns took place before the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḫēšu. This suggests the following possible dates for Ashurbanipal's two campaigns against Humban-ḫaltaš III:

	First Campaign	Second Campaign
1.	III-648	648 (after III)
2.	III-648	647
3.	III-648	646
4.	III-647	647 (after III)
5.	III-647	646
6.	III-646	646 (after III)

The first three proposals require one or both campaigns to have taken place before Babylon fell to the Assyrians (sometime after 30-V-648) and Humban-ḫaltaš III to have replaced Indabibi by the beginning of 648 at the latest;¹⁰ the first, fourth, and sixth require the two campaigns to have been in the same year; and the third, fifth, and sixth require the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḫēšu

⁵ Nabû-bēl-šumāti was still alive on the former date, when Ashurbanipal wrote to the elders of Elam demanding the surrender of the rebel (BM 132980; see above, p. 207). *ABL* 879, a letter from Humban-ḫaltaš III to Ashurbanipal, was composed on the latter date and mentions the arrest and return of the rebel (presumably his body); that the body had already been sent to Ashurbanipal at the time the letter was written is inferred from the use of the perfect *ussebilka* in line 8.

⁶ Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 44-45 iii 33-36 and Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 40-43 iv 110-113.

⁷ Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 56-57 v 55 and Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 56-57 vi 77-78. Note, however, that edition A also states that Ashurbanipal overthrew Elam in one month (literally "in a month of days"); Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 56-57 vi 99-100.

⁸ Aynard, *Asb.*, pp. 58-59 v 72-vi 11; Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 58-59 vi 107-24; and Thompson, *PEA*, p. 35 and pl. 17 v 9-32.

⁹ See also p. 186.

¹⁰ Proposal 2 has recently been suggested by Grayson in *ZA* 70 (1980): 231.

to be dated to 645 rather than 646. If Ashurbanipal campaigned in Elam before Babylon fell, he must have felt very confident about the situation in Babylonia, believing that the fall of the city was imminent and would not require his own presence or that of all his army. In this case, it may have been word of his victory over the Elamites, the usual supporters of the Babylonian rebels, which caused the people of Babylon to despair and submit. A campaign against Humban-ḫaltaš in Simanu of 648, however, also means that at least one copy of edition D of Ashurbanipal's annals mentioning Indabibi as king of Elam would have been made even after a campaign had been carried out against Indabibi's successor as king of Elam.¹¹ The possibility of two campaigns in the same year cannot be ruled out; however, the descriptions in Ashurbanipal's annals do not give the immediate impression that they were conducted in the same year.¹² If the statue of Nanaya went directly from Susa to Uruk, then the second campaign must have been over by the ninth month and the two campaigns must have been completed within seven months (III-IX), with the second having begun no more than four months after the first. Thus, if we assume that it is unlikely that any campaign took place before Babylon fell and that two long and arduous campaigns were conducted in the same year, we are left with the fifth proposal (first campaign in the third month of 647 and second campaign in 646), a scheme which, as noted above, requires the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḫēšu to date to 645.¹³ Since this latter dating is contested, and all the other proposals present some problem or other, we must await further information to help clarify matters.

¹¹ See p. 293 n. 2.

¹² The description of the campaigns in K 2631+2653+2855:12-rev. 23 (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 178-87) is confused and appears to refer to three campaigns against Humban-ḫaltaš (in rev. 9 we should probably read "um-man-[al-da-si] rather than Streck's "um-man-[i-gaš]); however, this source also seems to refer to campaigns in two consecutive years (*ibid.*, pp. 184-85 rev. 8-9). In her unpublished dissertation "Assurbanipal's Elamite Campaigns: A Literary and Political Study" (University of Pennsylvania, 1987), P.D. Gerardi argues that a study of the literary structure of the Assyrian campaign accounts suggests that both campaigns took place in the same year, in 647.

¹³ This proposed dating is the one used in the most recent study of Elamite history (Carter and Stolper, *Elam*, pp. 51-52).

APPENDIX F

The Identification of Ashurbanipal as Kandalānu

The present study has taken the view that while currently available data do not exclude the possibility of identifying Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu (i.e., the Assyrian king ruling Babylonia after the death of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn under the "throne name" of Kandalānu), the two were more probably distinct individuals.¹ In a recent work dealing with the fall of Assyria, Stefan Zawadzki has studied the question anew and strongly asserted the opinion that the two should be identified: "the identification of Ashurbanipal as Kandalanu, the subject of many heated discussions, should be no longer questioned."² In view of the importance of the matter to our understanding of the history of the period it seems necessary to re-examine the question here. The arguments presented by Zawadzki will be used as starting points for this review.

(1) Zawadzki points out that according to Berossos Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was succeeded by Sardanapallos (=Ashurbanipal) and he compares this to the statements in Babylonian Kinglist A and the Ptolemaic Canon that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was succeeded by Kandalānu.³

The strongest, and in fact only direct piece of evidence for the identification of the two individuals has always been the statement attributed to Berossos that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was succeeded as king of Babylonia by Ashurbanipal. The tradition that preserves Berossos' statements, however, is late in date and very involved.⁴ It cannot be accepted without question since other statements attributed to Berossos can be proven to be incorrect historically. In addition, while it is recorded in one place that Berossos stated that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn was succeeded by Ashurbanipal, two other places omitted the name of Ashurbanipal and simply stated that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn

was succeeded by his brother.⁵ Perhaps Kandalānu was a third son of Esarhaddon and later tradition erroneously supplied the name of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's more famous brother. Or perhaps both statements are incorrect and Kandalānu was totally forgotten since he was a mere figurehead, with Ashurbanipal holding all real power over Babylonia.

(2) According to Zawadzki, Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu died in the same year (627) and if Ashurbanipal were indeed Kandalānu each of the three sources mentioned above would give him a total reign of 42 years (by adding the lengths of reigns accorded to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu). This would accord with the length of Ashurbanipal's reign stated in the Haran inscription of Nabonidus' mother.⁶

The total length of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's reign and that of Kandalānu is 42 years in both Berossos and the Ptolemaic Canon and this does match the figure given for Ashurbanipal in the only source recording the length of that king's reign. It should actually be one less than the length of the reign of Ashurbanipal since Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ascended the throne in the year following Ashurbanipal's accession; however, the Ptolemaic Canon and Berossos each made a "mistake" of one year in one or the other of the kings' lengths of reign. Berossos presumably assumed Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ascended the throne at the same time as Ashurbanipal and thus allotted him a reign of twenty-one instead of twenty years. The Ptolemaic Canon gave Kandalānu a reign of twenty-two years, instead of twenty-one, presumably allotting to him the "kingless" year following the end of his reign and preceding the accession of Nabopolassar to the throne of Babylonia. The lengths of reign for Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu in the third source, Babylonian Kinglist A, are not preserved. Allowing for these "corrections" (which are also accepted by Zawadzki) and assuming that Kandalānu's and Ashurbanipal's reigns ended in the same year, the total number of regnal years assigned for Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and Kandalānu by the Ptolemaic Canon and Berossos would naturally equal those commonly assigned to Ashurbanipal. We know that there was civil strife immediately following the death of Ashurbanipal, and quite likely preceding it, and it would not be surprising if a puppet ruler's reign over Babylonia had ended during that time.

(3) Economic texts were dated at Nippur by Ashurbanipal's regnal years (using 668 as his first regnal year), while after the first month of 646 texts elsewhere from Babylonia used only Kandalānu's years (with 647 as his first regnal year). Brinkman has argued that it is difficult to understand why the

¹ See pp. 193-95. This view has been expounded most recently by Brinkman in *RLA* 5, p. 368 and *Prelude*, pp. 105-106. Note also A.T. Clay's useful summary of the evidence and scholarly opinion (up until about 1908) in *BE* 8/1, pp. 6-11.

² *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 24 and 57-62.

³ *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 24 and 57. Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 270 lines 35-36; Grayson in *RLA* 6, p. 93 iv 21-22 and p. 101. The name of the king who preceded Kandalānu in the Uruk kinglist is not preserved (*ibid.*, p. 97 line 2).

⁴ See Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 34-35 and Burstein, *SANE* 1/5 (1978): 6 and 10-11.

⁵ See Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 269 line 29 and p. 270 line 7.

⁶ *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 24 and 57. Gadd, *AnSt* 8 (1958): 46-47 and pl. 5 i 30.

two different systems of dating were used if the two individuals were one. Zawadzki contends that the reason for the two systems is that "Nippur was not under Babylonian control but directly under Assyrian administration" and was considered to be "almost [an] integral part of Assyria."

Certainly Ashurbanipal appears to have kept Nippur under his own control after the end of the revolt of 652-648, but this is also noted by Brinkman.⁸ The problem is that even if Nippur was directly under Assyrian administration, why would Ashurbanipal wish to emphasize the fact (and cause Babylonian resentment) by requiring that his "Assyrian" rather than his "Babylonian" name be used? There is no reason the "Babylonian" name could not have been used by the local scribes at Nippur when dating everyday business documents even if there was an Assyrian garrison in the city or if that city was considered to be more closely connected to Assyria than were other Babylonian cities. The absolute consistency in the use of the royal names, and the titles associated with them, is important. After the first month of 646 no economic text from Babylon was dated by Ashurbanipal's regnal years at any site except Nippur and none from Nippur were dated by Kandalānu's regnal years. Ashurbanipal was "king of the lands," "king of the world," or "king of Assyria" in date formula, while Kandalānu was "king of Babylon." In view of the large number of texts, scribes, and places involved, one might expect to have found at least one case where the scribe used a wrong name or title if Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu were indeed the same person.

(4) No texts dated by the accession year of Kandalānu are known; the first document mentioning him comes from Babylon and is dated late in his first year (6-X-647). However, texts were dated by Ashurbanipal's years at Nippur in 648, at Borsippa, Nippur, and Uruk in 647, and at Dilbat in 646. Zawadzki argues that this can not be explained if 648 was Kandalānu's accession year and feels that the only explanation can be that Ashurbanipal decided to use the name of Kandalānu in Babylonian business documents in 647. Since the king had already had his accession year in the past (669) and only his name had changed, there was no reason to have another one.⁹

⁷ *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 58-59. B-K J and L; Brinkman, *Prelude*, p. 106. Zawadzki (*Fall of Assyria*, pp. 58-59) also argues that Nippur remained under Assyrian control and was not handed over to Šamaš-šuma-ukīn before the middle of 664 since a document was dated at that city according to Ashurbanipal's regnal years in the fifth month of 664 and since the first document dated by the Babylonian king's regnal years at Nippur comes from 660 (NBC 6142 and TuM 2-3 10; B-K J.5 and K.26). A different explanation for the former dating is presented in chapter 7.

⁸ *Prelude*, pp. 106-107.

⁹ *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 59-60. IM 57906, IM 57912, BM 29171, W. 18874, YBC 7166, Ashmolean 1924.1260 (OECT 10 9), VAT 17904 (Jakob-Rost, *FB* 10 [1968]: 57-58 no.

The absence of accession year texts for Kandalānu may be explained in one of two ways. First, we may simply have not yet found these documents. We have after all only two texts for 648 which are not dated by the regnal years of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; both come from Nippur and would have used Ashurbanipal's regnal years in any case. Since we do not know exactly when Babylon fell in 648, Kandalānu may not have been appointed king until near the end of that year, making his accession year very brief. The Šamaš-šuma-ukīn Revolt had only just been crushed and matters were still unsettled, thus we should not expect many texts from this period. Second, Kandalānu may have been nominated and installed as king of Babylonia at the Near Year's festival at the beginning of 647. Thus he may have had no accession year, although it must be admitted that this would have been unprecedented. It is a problem that a few texts were dated by Ashurbanipal in 647 at Borsippa (three texts) and Uruk (two texts) and in the first month of 646 at Dilbat (one text), i.e., to the period after Kandalānu ascended the throne of Babylonia.¹⁰ This can, however, be explained if we assumed that Assyrian troops which had come to put down the rebellion had not yet left those cities and their administration had not yet been returned to Babylonians. Thus these cities may simply have not yet been handed over to Kandalānu's jurisdiction. On the other hand, if Ashurbanipal was Kandalānu, why was not Kandalānu's name used in the text from Dilbat in 646, since that name had already been used at Babylon? Or would this be an example of the inconsistency desired above, but supporting the identification of Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu?

(5) According to Zawadzki, the fact that the Synchronistic Kinglist from Assyria gives the name of Ashurbanipal twice, once opposite Šamaš-šuma-ukīn and once opposite Kandalānu, cannot provide an argument either for or against the identification. Whether he was Kandalānu or not the list would have looked the same since in Babylonia the ruler's name was Kandalānu.¹¹

While the evidence of the Synchronistic Kinglist is not strong, I would argue that the lack of any indication that one person was meant by the different names is *prima facie* evidence that two separate individuals were

13), IM 58813 (McCown, Haines, and Biggs, *Nippur* 2, pp. 75 and 87 no. 28), Ashmolean 1924.484 (OECT 10 399), and VAT 2963 (VAS 5 3); B-K J.16-24 and L.1 respectively. Zawadzki also refers to texts which he says probably come from Sippar and date to Ashurbanipal's twenty-second year (647). The texts in question (BM 49326 and 62469; B-K L.2-3) date to Kandalānu's first year (as correctly shown on Zawadzki's chart, *Fall of Assyria*, p. 58). While the two texts are part of the Sippar collection of the British Museum, that collection includes texts from other sites than just Sippar; thus it is not certain that they came from that city or were composed there.

¹⁰ The presence of texts dated by Ashurbanipal at Nippur is not a problem since Nippur was kept under Assyrian control throughout this part of his reign.

¹¹ *Fall of Assyria*, p. 60.

meant. Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu appear twice in the text opposite one another (once in the body of the text and once in the summary statement about the length of the period considered in the document) and never with an indication that the two were one.¹² The Assyrian compilers of this text had already called Sennacherib king of both Assyria and Babylonia for the period after the destruction of Babylon in 689, even though he never appears to have claimed the kingship of Babylonia during that time. One may wonder if they would have "disguised" the fact that Ashurbanipal had ruled Babylonia by using two separate names for him without any indication that the two referred to the same person.

(6) Kandalānu's name appears only in chronological texts and date formulae. Official documents recording the construction or restoration of temples in Babylonia at that time ascribed these acts to Ashurbanipal. Zawadzki states that it was the duty and privilege of the sovereign to carry out such actions and that "it is easy ... to imagine that even though Ashurbanipal wanted business documents to be dated by the name of Kandalanu, he still chose that his activities as a benefactor be associated with his supremacy over the whole Empire, not only Babylonia."¹³

We may have no official inscriptions of Kandalānu's because he was a mere figurehead; after the experience with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, Ashurbanipal would not have wanted the new king to have any real power. Kandalānu was to be merely a symbol, an indication that Babylonia still existed as a separate kingdom with its own ruler. Or possibly we may simply have not yet found Kandalānu's building inscriptions. We should note that Šamaš-šuma-ukīn left few official texts and, in fact, there are few official inscriptions of Ashurbanipal from Babylonia clearly dating from after about 643. Since Ashurbanipal left inscriptions describing his building projects in Babylonia during the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (who surely held more authority than Kandalānu), it is not surprising that he left some from the time of Kandalānu as well. A copy of edition H of Ashurbanipal's annals comes from Babylon and is dated to the sixth day of Ayyaru (II) of his thirtieth year (639) as "king of Assyria";¹⁴ however, it is not surprising that an inscription of the Assyrian king would be dated by his regnal years and not those of his vassal.

Kandalānu now appears to be attested in a letter, CT 53 966, but it is uncertain if this would sustain the identification or not. The fact that the letter also mentions Šērī'a-ēterat could connect Kandalānu with the Assyrian royal family, and thus possibly with her brother Ashurbanipal. However, it has

¹² Grayson in *RLA* 6, p. 120 iv 15 and 17-20.

¹³ *Fall of Assyria*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Nassouhi, *AfK* 2 (1924-25): 101 and 104-105 viii 14-16; title partially restored.

always been possible that Kandalānu was another member of the royal family and the text is too damaged to determine the exact context in which he appears.¹⁵

(7) In Zawadzki's opinion, the identification is sustained by the fact that there are no date formulae which would be similar those used in 538: "the first year of Cyrus, king of lands, and of Cambyses, king of Babylon."¹⁶

This type of date formula, however, was unusual and appears approximately one hundred years after the time of Kandalānu. Babylonia had just been conquered by the Persians and this formula may reflect Persian tradition or have been invented by Babylonian scribes to describe a particular political/administrative structure new to them. No such date formulae have been found mentioning Sennacherib and Bēl-ibni or Aššur-nādin-šumi, or Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukīn; yet in each case the Assyrian king was overlord of the Babylonian ruler, just as would be the case with Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu.

(8) Zawadzki believes that Šamaš-danninanni, a Babylonian official who bore the titles *šakin māti* of Akkad and (*ša*) *pīhati* of Babylon in eponym dates from this time, administered all of Babylonia and compares his position to that of Gubaru who was appointed governor of all of Babylonia by Cyrus after the Persian conquest in 539. He then argues that if Kandalānu was distinct from Ashurbanipal, Šamaš-danninanni would have "duplicated Kandalanu's powers of jurisdiction."¹⁷

The fact that Šamaš-danninanni was an eponym official clearly indicates that he held an important post, but there is no evidence that he was more than governor of Babylon and its surrounding territory. Gubaru held office over one hundred years after the time of Šamaš-danninanni and under different political circumstances; there is no reason to assume that Šamaš-danninanni held a similar position to that of Gubaru. Borsippa and Uruk are known to have had their own governors during the reign of Kandalānu (see Appendix B) and there is no evidence that they were subject to Šamaš-danninanni. Zawadzki argues that the term Akkad in Šamaš-danninanni's title was being used in an archaic fashion to refer to all of Babylonia and finds support for this in the fact that Šamaš-danninanni appears with the title governor of Akkad in *BIN* 2 132. In that text, Šamaš-danninanni took part in a proceeding involving a dispute over some Puqudians who had earlier been presented to the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya. The fact that Šamaš-

¹⁵ That the letter deals with political, not family matters is suggested by the references to the king of Elam and [Bit]-Ibā. On the letter, see pp. 194-95.

¹⁶ *Fall of Assyria*, p. 61.

¹⁷ *Fall of Assyria*, pp. 61-62. Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-56): 106.

danninanni appears in this text is not evidence that he administered all of Babylonia. The text is damaged, but does not appear to indicate that he settled the dispute as the superior official. Instead, it appears to indicate that Šamaš-danninanni and Kudurru were on opposing sides.¹⁸ Nor can the fact that Šamaš-danninanni was a eponym official be used to indicate that he held authority over all Babylonia since provincial governors (albeit not Babylonian ones) regularly appeared as eponym officials. While the term Akkad can refer to Babylonia as a whole, it does not have to mean more than northern Babylonia, the region in which Babylon was the main centre, and Šamaš-danninanni's other title, (*ša*) *pīḫati*, "provincial governor" of Babylon, would support this interpretation. The assignment of the administration of all of Babylonia to one official (i.e., not a vassal ruler) would have been unprecedented; as a rule the Assyrians left the provincial structure of Babylonia alone and the subjugation of one governor to another governor would have been most unusual. Thus, there is no reason to assume that Šamaš-danninanni had authority over exactly the same area as Kandalānu.

(9) Finally, Zawadzki points out that while edition A of Ashurbanipal's annals states that after the Assyrian king put down Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's revolt he appointed new governors and officials for Babylonia, this edition makes no mention of the appointment of Kandalānu to be king of Babylonia.¹⁹

The fact that Ashurbanipal's annals do not mention the appointment of a new king of Babylonia is surprising, particularly since edition A was composed a few years after Kandalānu's first appearance in date formulae. Perhaps the reason was that Assyrian scribes felt that after describing the long revolt of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn the mention of a new king of Babylonia would have made the reader wonder if the latter would also cause problems for Assyria by leading Babylonians into rebellion. Or perhaps the scribes were subtly attempting to denigrate Kandalānu by considering him among the governors and officials appointed by Ashurbanipal. All this is mere supposition, but one may also point out that the annals also do not state that Ashurbanipal assumed the rulership of Babylonia, or sat on the throne of Babylon, or took the hand of Bēl in the New Year's ritual.

Two further matters are germane to the question of the identification of Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu: Did Assyrian kings ever use two names²⁰ and

¹⁸ For a collation of the relevant lines, see p. 201 n. 48. Zawadzki states that Kudurru arbitrated the matter and if so, this would not indicate that he was subordinate to Šamaš-danninanni. Damage to the text, however, makes it unclear who actually settled the matter.

¹⁹ *Fall of Assyria*, p. 62. Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 40-41 iv 104-105.

²⁰ On this matter, see only Zawadzki's brief statement in *Fall of Assyria*, p. 24.

did Ashurbanipal ever claim the rulership of Babylonia under the name Ashurbanipal?

(10) It is clear that at least a few Assyrian rulers did take a new name when they were appointed heir to the throne or when they assumed power. Although individuals other than the monarch did occasionally bear the name Sargon,²¹ it is unlikely that Sargon II of Assyria was originally given a name meaning "The-King-Is-Legitimate" (or something similar);²² and Esarhaddon was given the name Aššur-etil-ilāni-mukīn-apli ("Aššur-Lord-Of-The-Gods-The-One-Who-Preserves-The-Heir") at some point before he became king. Sargon, however, did not continue to use his old name; in fact we have no idea what it was. Esarhaddon's new name was used in only two official inscriptions and he soon reverted to his original name.²³ In addition, it is sometimes thought that the name Ashurbanipal may have been given to that individual when he was appointed heir and that his old name had been Sin-nādin-apli since at one point Esarhaddon had considered appointing Sin-nādin-apli his heir.²⁴ While Tiglath-pileser III is called Pūlu (or a similar name) in some non-contemporary sources—for example, Babylonian Kinglist A, the Old Testament, Berossos, Josephus, and the Ptolemaic Canon—he was never given this name in Assyrian and Babylonian texts of the period. Shalmaneser V appears as Ulūlayu (or with a similar name) in Babylonian Kinglist A, the Ptolemaic Canon, the Assur Ostrakon, and a few Nimrud letters. The Nimrud letters were of contemporary date, but they were not formal, official documents. Undoubtedly Shalmaneser was using a family nickname in these letters, which were written by him to his father.²⁵ There is

²¹ Several Babylonians bore this name in the first millennium (see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 201), but it is unclear if it was used by private individuals in Assyria. An individual by the name of Sargon does appear in an extispicy report for Ashurbanipal (Starr, *SAA* 4, no. 305 rev. 6'), but he may have been a Babylonian.

²² Sargon II does not appear to have been directly in line for the throne, but rather to have been a usurper or a member of a junior branch of the royal house (see Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 12). With regard to the meaning of the name Sargon, see B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (American Schools of Oriental Research, Dissertation Series 4) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980), p. 30.

²³ Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 9 §7:1 (two exemplars) and p. 68 §30:1 (mostly restored). In addition, he appears with both names in *ABL* 1452 (the newer one abbreviated to Aššur-etillu-mukīn-apli), where it is stated that Esarhaddon had been renamed, and in *ABL* 308 (newer name abbreviated to Aššur-etil-ilāni-mukīn), a private family letter. Only Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 9 §7 does not date to the time of Sennacherib. Could the agate bead with an inscription of Aššur-etil-ilāni-mukīn-apli which was found in a post-Assyrian grave at Assur (Haller, *Gräber*, p. 71) have originally belonged to Esarhaddon?

²⁴ See Starr, *SAA* 4, no. 149 and Parpola, *LAS* 2, p. 106 (with references).

²⁵ The name Ulūlayu presumably indicates the month in which Shalmaneser was born; the meaning of the name Pūlu is unknown, although it may have been an abbreviation for the last part of Tiglath-pileser's name.

no evidence that Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V were ever referred to as Pūlu and Ulūlayu in contemporary official documents.²⁶ Scholars have sometimes attempted to argue that the later Assyrian kings Aššur-etil-ilāni and Sîn-šarra-iškun were one and the same person;²⁷ however, this view has never gained wide acceptance and it is clear that one was not the "Assyrian" throne name and the other the "Babylonian" throne name of one individual.²⁸

In sum, there is no proof that Assyrian kings ever used alternate throne names, let alone separate "Assyrian" and "Babylonian" throne names. However, even if Ashurbanipal had wanted a separate throne name for use in Babylonia, why would he have chosen the name Kandalānu? The name appears to mean "shaped like a *kandalu*-utensil" and may have indicated some physical deformity (a clubfoot?).²⁹ If he was physically deformed he would surely not have wished to emphasize the fact by choosing to use a name indicating this, even if it was a family nickname. When new official names for Sargon II and Esarhaddon had been adopted or considered, the new names reflected ideas of royal legitimacy and divine sponsorship. Perhaps Ashurbanipal chose someone with a physical deformity and/or a pejorative name to be the new ruler of Babylonia as an insult to the Babylonians or because he wanted the new ruler of Babylonia to be someone who would find it difficult to inspire the Babylonians and lead them into rebellion.

(11) If Ashurbanipal was Kandalānu, and thus king of Babylonia, we might expect to find some indication in the titles and epithets accorded him in royal inscriptions that Ashurbanipal claimed to be ruler of Babylonia (i.e., specific titles claiming the rulership of Babylonia as opposed to such general titles as "king of the world" and "king of the four quarters"). Certainly, his son Sîn-šarra-iškun referred to his father as "king of Sumer and Akkad," but that was after the fact.³⁰ No inscription, whether royal or economic in nature, refers to Ashurbanipal as "king of Babylon," but an inscription from Nippur describing the restoration of the Egiginû, the ziggurat of that city, does refer to Ashurbanipal as "king of Sumer and Akkad"³¹ and several fragmentary Assyrian inscriptions (apparently all from Nineveh) accord him this title

²⁶ This matter is discussed in greater depth by Brinkman in *PKB*, pp. 61-62, 240-41 n. 1544, and 243-44 nn. 1560 and 1564, and by von Soden in *ZA* 58 (1967): 243-44.

²⁷ E.g., Borger, *WZKM* 55 (1959): 68.

²⁸ See, for example, von Soden, *ZA* 58 (1967): 244. Both names were used extensively in Babylonian sources. Zawadzki discusses this identification in connection with other scholars' reconstructions of the history of the period but does not give his opinion on the matter (e.g., *Fall of Assyria*, p. 31).

²⁹ See *CAD* 8 (K), p. 148; *AHW*, p. 436; and Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 266 n. 5.

³⁰ See Donbaz and Grayson, *Clay Cones*, p. 56:1-2 and Schroeder, *KAH* 2 134:2-3.

³¹ L.29-632+633+636 and duplicate UM 55-21-384 line 10 (Gerardi, *Sjöberg Festschrift*, pp. 207-15).

and/or the title "viceroy of Babylon."³² The dates of most of these texts are merely a matter of conjecture and could come from any time in the king's reign, but at least one Assyrian piece clearly dates to the period after the appointment of Kandalānu to be king of Babylonia.³³ In the inscription from Nippur, Ashurbanipal was also called "viceroy for the gods Aššur (AN.ŠĀR), Enlil, and Ninurta." The fact that Aššur, even under the "guise" of Anšar, was given precedence over Enlil in an inscription dedicated to Enlil from Enlil's own city would indicate a date when Nippur was under Assyrian control, likely during or after the rebellion of 652-648; and building projects are more likely to have taken place after the rebellion than during it.

These texts could suggest that at some point(s) Ashurbanipal claimed the rulership of Babylonia, or at least that his scribes claimed it for him, and this could support the idea that Ashurbanipal was king of Babylonia and thus Kandalānu. However, the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" was a traditional one associated with the holder of the city of Nippur and scribes there may have felt it politic to accord this title to the Assyrian king since he had not turned that city over to Kandalānu (assuming the text does date after the ascension of Kandalānu). More importantly, in the major inscriptions from the time after the rebellion (e.g., editions A, F, and apparently C), Ashurbanipal was not called "viceroy of Babylon" or "king of Sumer and Akkad."³⁴ Edition T, which dates from the eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu (646 or 645), describes Ashurbanipal as having conducted various building projects in Babylonia (and Assyria) and yet gives him no title indicating that

³² Tablet fragments: K 3079+K 3080 i 4-5 (both titles partly restored; Bauer, *Asb.*, p. 19 and pl. 34); K 2813+K 8394+79-7-8,134:22 (latter title, possibly referring to Esarhaddon; *ibid.*, p. 38 and pl. 29); 80-7-19,141:9 (former title, partially restored; ascription to Ashurbanipal uncertain; *ibid.*, p. 48 and pl. 56); DT 133:3' (latter title, partly restored; *ibid.*, p. 54 and pl. 52); possibly 81-7-27,70:4' (latter title, restoration uncertain; *ibid.*, p. 49 and pl. 58). Prism fragments: BM 123410:14 (both titles, former mostly restored; Millard, *Iraq* 30 [1968]:107 and pl. 24); and BM 134455 col. B 12'-13' (both[?] titles, mostly restored and most likely referring to Esarhaddon; Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940]: 103 and fig. 13 no. 23). Note also the "cylinder" mentioned in Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 377 and Streck, *Asb.*, p. 409 (possibly one or more of the pieces published by Bauer; both titles). Cf. Seux, *Épithètes*, p. 278.

³³ BM 123410; according to Millard the piece is part of edition H, but this remains to be proven. If the text found by G. Smith is related to edition C (see previous note) that piece would also date to this period (see Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 408-409). Note also K 3079+3080 which Bauer also connects to edition C; this text may deal with the temple of Nergal at Cutha (see ii 23-26 and iv 2), whose restoration is described in 3 R pl. 38 no. 1, a text composed after the revolt and the destruction of Susa. On the other hand, K 2813++ is a dedicatory inscription to Nusku of Harran and Ashurbanipal is known to have carried out work there at the start of his reign (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 158-75, note rev. 51).

³⁴ Note also the inscriptions dedicated to Nergal of Cutha and Marduk of Babylon (Streck, *Asb.*, pp. 176-89 and 276-87) which date to this period which do not accord him titles reflecting the rulership of Babylonia.

he held the rulership of Babylonia. Would the Assyrian scribes have refrained from according him such titles just because he was not using his "Babylonian" name in the text? Sennacherib's texts omitted such titles but that Assyrian king had renounced them because he was furious with Babylonia after the death of his son Aššur-nādin-šumi. There is no evidence that Ashurbanipal felt the same way, particularly not if one assumes that he bore them under another name. Perhaps the texts which accorded him the titles "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "viceroy of Babylon" were written by careless or over-zealous scribes who gave greater weight to the fact that Ashurbanipal was the real ruler of Babylonia than to the fact that someone else (a non-entity with no actual authority) sat on the throne of Babylon. On the one hand, the fact that Ashurbanipal is accorded the titles "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "viceroy of Babylon" in a few texts (mainly miscellaneous dedicatory inscriptions from Assyria) and that at least one of these texts clearly dates to the period when Kandalānu was on the throne of Babylonia, could provide some support for the identification of Ashurbanipal with Kandalānu. On the other hand, the omission of such titles in the major inscriptions of the period argues against it.

In conclusion, Zawadzki has raised a number of new points on the question of the identification of Ashurbanipal as Kandalānu, but has not proven his case. Although an identification of the two solves some problems, it raises new ones. The data currently available suggest, but do not prove, that Ashurbanipal and Kandalānu were more likely two individuals than one.³⁵

³⁵ The question of who Kandalānu may have been is discussed in chapter 9.

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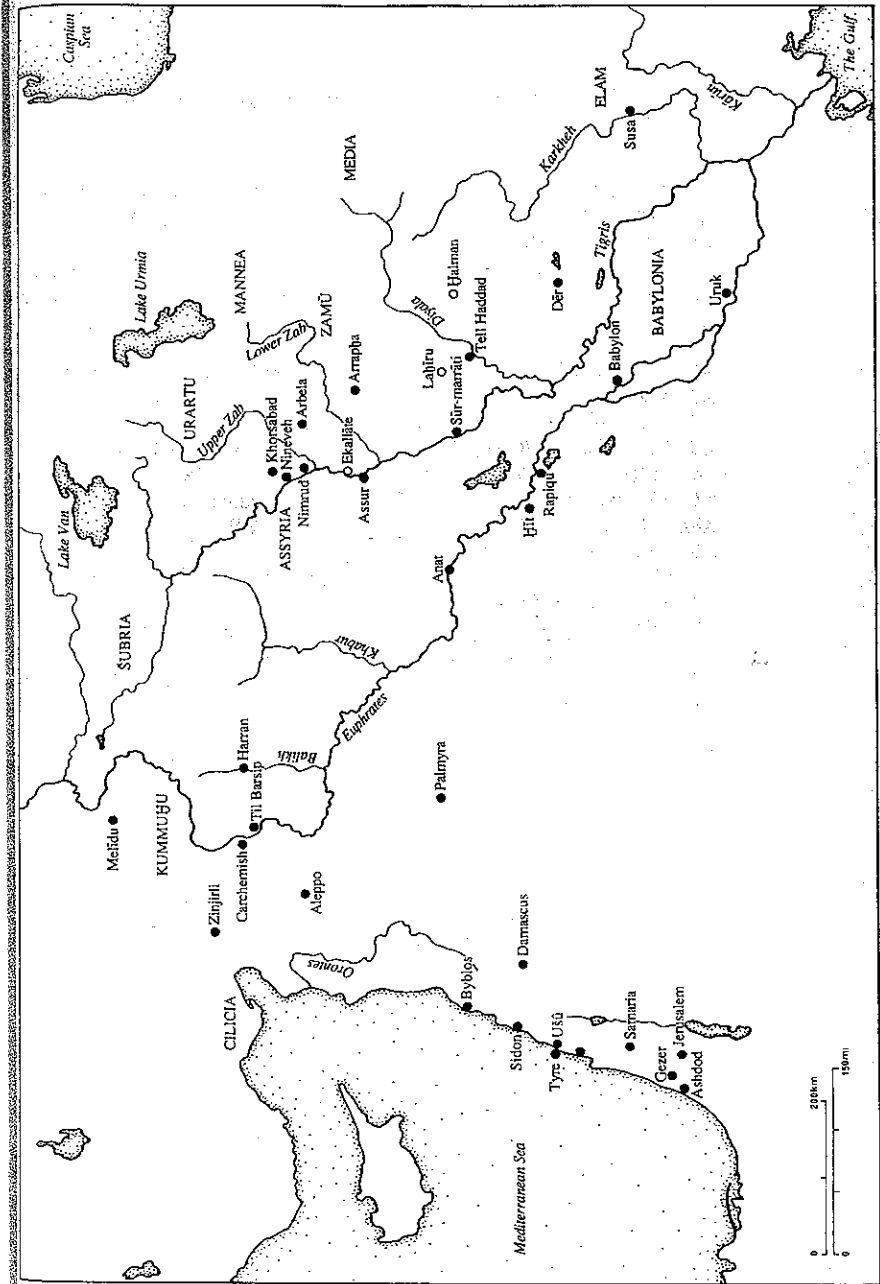
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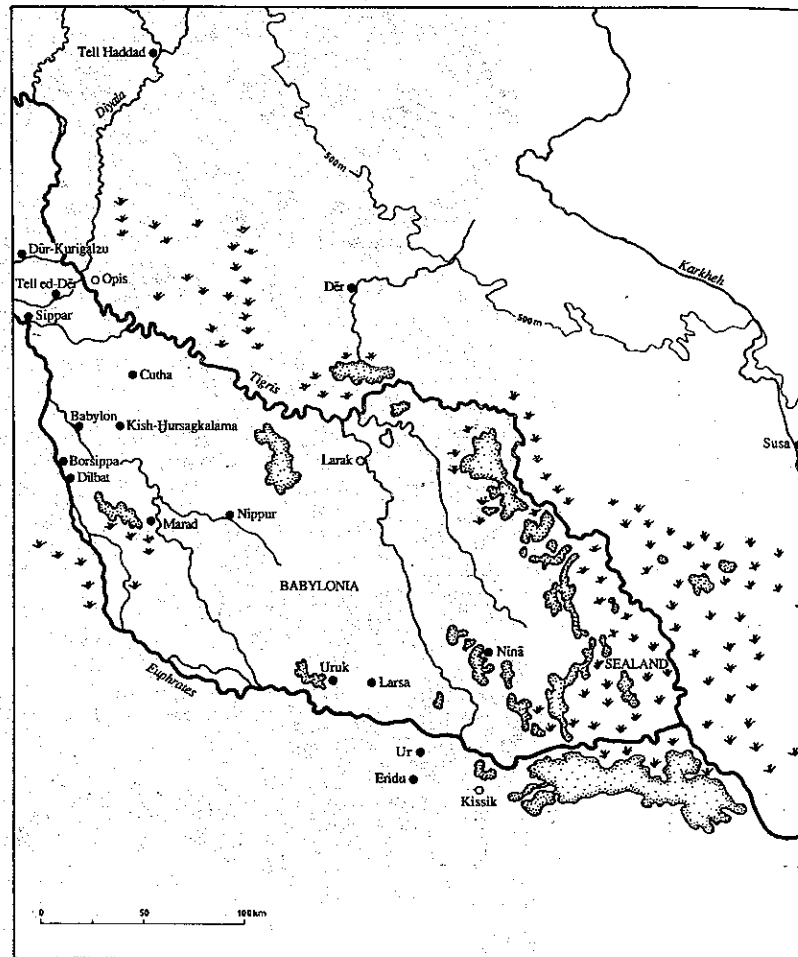
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Map 1 - The Ancient Near East



Map 2 - Babylonia



Figure 1 - Stela of Esarhaddon from Zinjirli (VA 2708)



Figure 2 – Stela of Ashurbanipal from Borsippa (BM 90865)

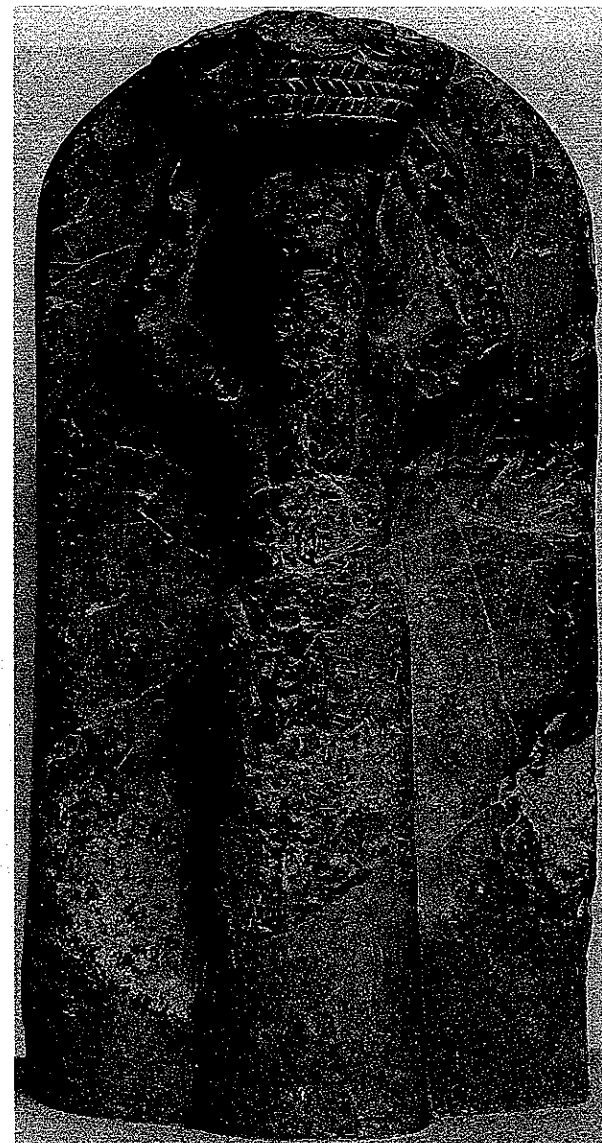


Figure 3 – Stela of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn from Borsippa (BM 90866)



Figure 4 – Wall relief from the Palace of Sennacherib (BM 124801)



Figure 5 – Wall relief from the Palace of Ashurbanipal (BM 124945-6)

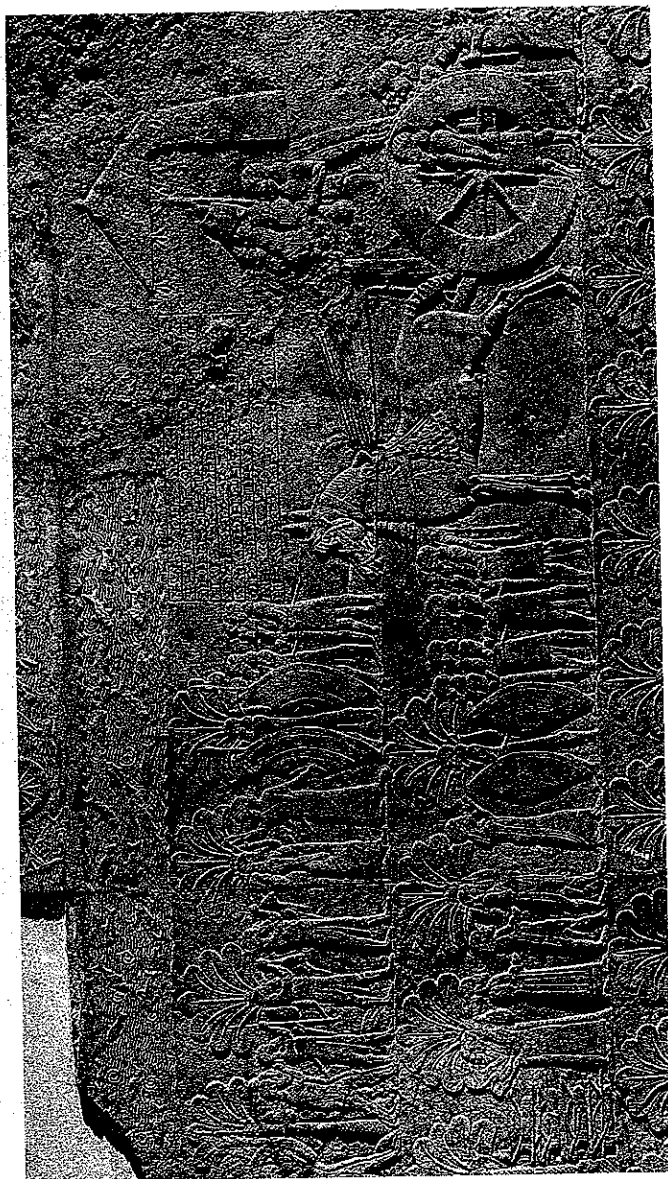


Figure 6 – Wall relief from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (BM 124945-6)

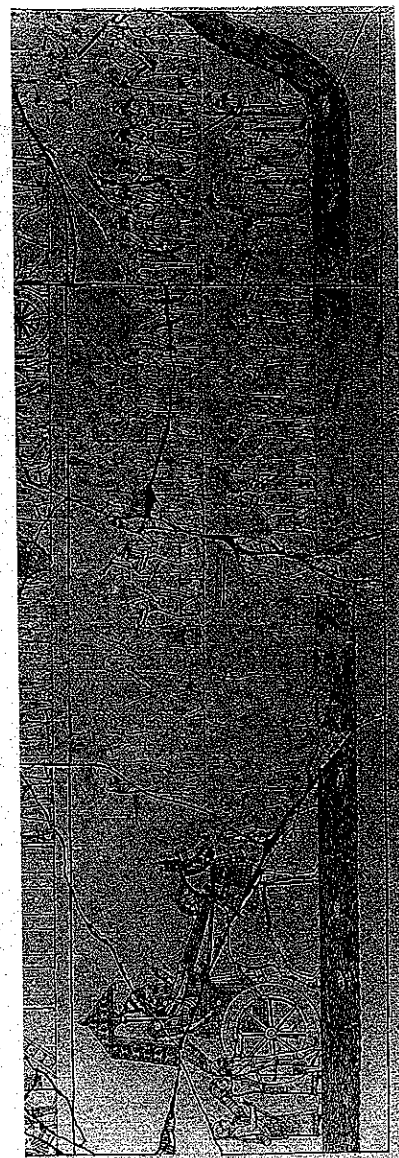


Figure 7 – Wall relief from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (BM drawing Or.DR V,24)

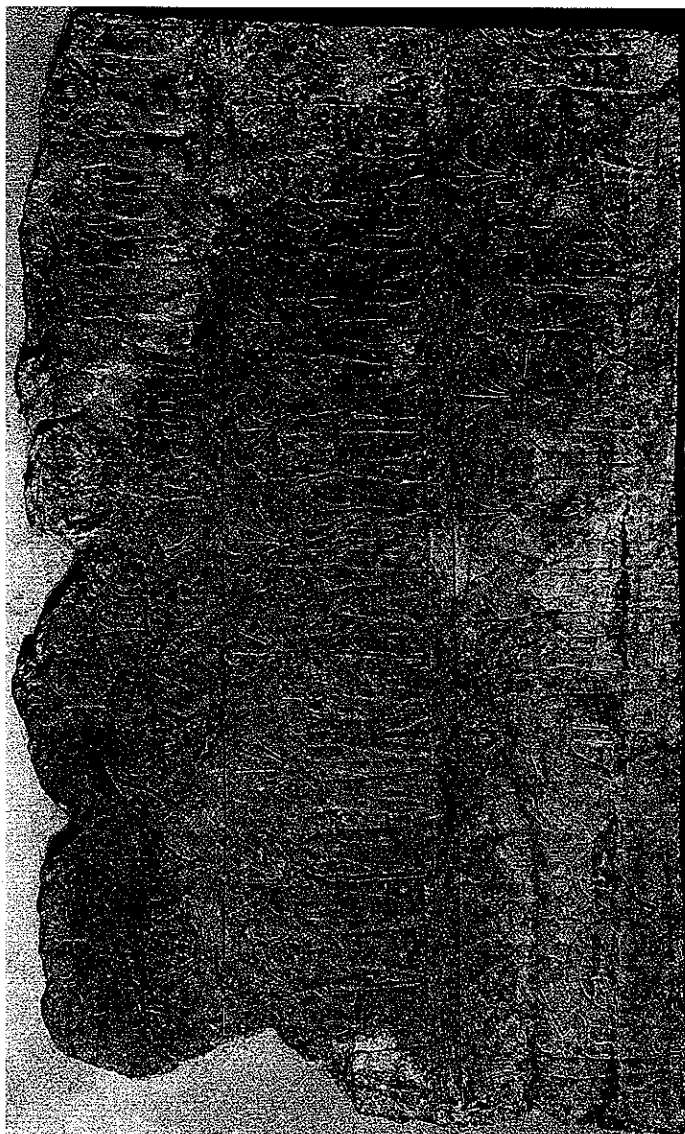


Figure 8 – Wall relief from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (AO 19910)

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